

**POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS
AMONG
COLLEGE STUDENTS**

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To
my friend,
Shri G. V. BHAVE,
(Ex-Captain).

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P R E F A C E

This book arose out of a Research project I had launched when I was teaching in Rajaram College, Kolhapur. In preparing it a number of persons and institutions rendered me valuable help but for which this book would not have been possible.

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*Bombay
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A. B. S.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVES OF THE SURVEY

In a democratic state, people are the ultimate repository of political power. They govern through their representatives, and representative democracy is basically a government by a party. There is a race among political parties for the capture of power. Parliament is turned into an arena and its discussions are a ceaseless struggle of the "Ins and Outs". Parties in opposition do not spare any opportunity to play down the party in power, trade unions exploit the economic discontent in the industrial population, religious and racial organisations misuse the religious credulity of the people, socialist or communist organisations magnify class disparities under capitalist democracy and local parties exaggerate local issues and sway local passions.

All such organisations aspire assiduously to dislodge the party in power and in this struggle treat the people as their instrument. When the actions of the state are not compatible with the purposes of the people, their direct intervention and action become imperative. When the mischiefs of obedience are greater than the mischiefs of disobedience, people consider it their duty to resist the state. The play of reason in politics is often eclipsed by emotions and powerful instincts. Consequently, before constitutional methods of agitation and direct democratic devices are tried, extra-constitutional methods are resorted to by people to redress their grievances.

It is a truism that students are not passive spectators but active participants in affairs political. They are at the root of almost every political trouble. They are to be found invariably in the morthas, processions, demonstrations, strikes, hunger-strikes, hartals, satyagrahas, picketings, political movements, trade union activities and electioneering. Though they behave in a most irresponsible manner, they have become a force. Consequently, their behaviour has been engaging the minds not only of educationists but also of leaders and political scientists. Unfortunately, the problem of political behaviour of students has not so far received adequate attention.

With this view in mind, it was decided to sample the political consciousness among college students. The term "political consciousness" eludes any attempt at definition and, therefore, the description of the factors which constitute it is necessitated. Reading habits will reveal their knowledge not only of day-to-day happenings in the world but also of ideologies and programmes pursued by different parties. Their discussions and their attendance at meetings will disclose

how far they are susceptible to matters political. Their membership of parties, trade unions and student organisations and participation in their activities will unravel their propensities and their involvement in active politics and thus disclose their alignment. Their interest in elections and electioneering will also have a bearing on the same aspect. Some of the questions in the questionnaire are designed to screen their political aptitudes and aspirations and others will test their knowledge of national and international matters. Eventually, all this will enable me to arrive at certain generalisations regarding their views through which I shall get a measure of their political consciousness.

These are, in short, the most important objectives of the present sample survey. I do not profess at all that the above-mentioned points embrace all the aspects of political consciousness among college students. All the same, the general nature of their political consciousness should be intelligible, with the type of questionnaire I have used.

SCOPE OF THE SURVEY

The survey does not comprise all students of Shivaji University, Kolhapur. I have deliberately confined myself to the degree colleges alone in Kolhapur city, and to the arts students of the post-graduate classes in Rajaram College. This restriction was preferred, for had I surveyed all the students of the University it would have been a stupendous work, though not insurmountable. Further, Kolhapur district has almost all the characteristics of other districts over which the University has jurisdiction and, hence, consideration of all the students would have been superfluous. The rural surroundings have been adequately represented (48.19%) in the present survey. The degree colleges in Kolhapur city could, therefore, be viewed as fairly representative of all the colleges affiliated to Shivaji University, and of its rurality and urbanity.

High school students are knowingly excluded from the purview of the survey, because they are very much in a formative period and could be irresponsible in their views. They are too young to comprehend political affairs. College students, on the other hand, could be taken as mature and responsible in their views. Their opinions, for that reason, would not only be interesting but also have considerable predictive value.

Students taking diploma courses in the Polytechnic Institute and those of the S.N.D.T. (B.Ed.) College, are not covered by the survey. Students of the Polytechnic Institute cannot be deemed college students in the strict sense of the word. Students reading for B.Ed. are considered to have a higher level of understanding than the undergraduates. On account of these debarrings, the findings of the survey will not be adversely affected.

A questionnaire was administered to a systematic sample of 25% of students from each class of each college. The total sample size is 911.

QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire is split up into seven divisions to obtain the required information. Nevertheless, these parts are not mutually exclusive, though an attempt is made to group together questions regarding a particular aspect of the objectives. The questionnaire furnishes possible alternative answers to most of the questions. It cannot be claimed that they are exhaustive but its perusal will show that they are sufficiently adequate.

The first part of the questionnaire deals with general information about the student and incorporates questions regarding the occupation and education of his guardians. The second is concerned with his reading of newspapers, periodicals, organs and literature of political parties. His participation in discussions—general and political—and in meetings—public and caste—and political study-circles are covered under part three. The fourth part of the questionnaire deals with his membership of parties, trade unions and student organisations and his involvement in their activities. His sympathies for them also are tapped here. The fifth section is devoted to the consideration of questions about his interest in elections and electioneering. The sixth part assesses his political aspirations and loyalties and his efforts to realise his aspirations. The last section is devised to ascertain his political knowledge of matters—national and international.

EXECUTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

There were 3,644 students during the second term of 1963-64 on the rolls of the colleges covered by this survey. This frame was most complete and adequate. In all 911 or 25% of the students were covered by the survey. It was decided to have a systematic sample with the help of the attendance registers of the students.

The questionnaire was finalised after it was tested on a pilot sample of 20 students, four of whom were from each of the five faculties. My talks with these students were so useful that it enabled me to remove some obscurities in the questionnaire and I incorporated some of their apt suggestions in it.

Prior to the administration of the questionnaire, I requested principals of the colleges to make available to me the required number of students of each class. My request was readily conceded by them. The students who were required to fill in the questionnaire had no previous intimation. In a day, with the assistance of a professor of the concerned college, I used to administer the questionnaire to the students of one class only.

Upon distributing copies of the questionnaire to students, I acquainted them, in short, with the nature of my work and impressed on them the importance of answering questions fearlessly and without reservations. Besides the written

promise in the questionnaire that the information furnished by students will not be adversely used against them, I once more repeated the same assurance orally to make them dauntless in the expression of their opinions. While filling in the questionnaire, I did not permit students to consult with each other. In case a student had any doubt about any question or point, I used to dispel it immediately.

On an average, a student spent an hour and a half on the questionnaire. All the same, the time taken for filling in the questionnaire used to vary and consequently, students returned the schedules not at one time. This gave me time to immediately look over the schedules and persuade them to answer whatever questions were left unanswered. This eliminated considerably cases of non-response. It can be asserted that, on the whole, the response of the students was very warm and encouraging.

In consideration of the deteriorating standard of English, a Marathi version of the original English questionnaire was issued to all the students.

I began collecting the data in the first week of January, 1964 and completed it before 15th March, 1964.

PROCESSING AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

Processing and analysis of the data was carried out by the Gokhale Institute of Economics and Politics, Poona-4, in the following manner :

(A) **Coding.** Three card-types for each of the 911 schedules were prepared.

Card Type 1 : General information, reading newspapers, periodicals, party organs, party literature and political literature. Discussions among friends and attending meetings (36 columns).

Card Type 2 : Membership of, sympathy for and participation in the activities of parties, trade unions, and student organisations ; voting and canvassing at elections ; and tendencies noticed in all elections (36 columns)

Card Type 3 : Occupational choice, political aspirations, emotional integration of India, India's foreign policy, political differences among nations, survival of political system, world unity, possibility of third world war, guarantee of world peace by U.N. (36 columns).

(B) **Punching.** The coded information was transferred to the punch-cards in the usual manner. The punching work was duly verified.

(C) **Sorting.** All the card-types were analysed on the sorter and tables were prepared finally.

PRESENTATION OF THE TABLES

Since every question having a bearing upon the political consciousness was to be studied from the point of view of faculty, sex, caste and place of origin, the following scheme was adopted for the presentation of the tables :

- (a) Cross-tables for faculty vs. sex were shown. Faculty includes arts, science, commerce, law, agriculture and post-graduate classes (arts). The schedules of the arts students of Rajaram College, Gopal Krishna Gokhale College and Kirti College were combined. Similarly, the schedules of science students of Rajaram College and G.K.G. College were put together.
- (b) Cross-tables for caste vs. place of origin were presented separately.

STUDENT MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

Political consciousness among college students in Kolhapur is studied against the background of student movements in India.

Chapter Two

GENERAL INFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

In order that we may rightly understand the students' answers to the questions, it is necessary to collect some general information about them before we assess their political consciousness. This chapter gives the information about the students included in the sample. The information covers various aspects: college, class, sex, age, marital status, place of origin, residential place in Kolhapur, financial position and caste. It also gives information about occupations and educational attainments of their guardians.

FACULTY AND SEX

Table 1* gives the distribution of the sample according to faculty and sex. It furnishes separate figures for every faculty and in each faculty males and females are shown separately. Under the caption, "faculty" are shown: arts, science, commerce, law, agriculture and post-graduate. This pattern is maintained throughout the subsequent tables.

It is amazing to note that pressure on the arts and science faculties, in spite of other openings available, is still very heavy as much as 73.67% of 911 students are claimed by them. It is evident that other faculties have not much of appeal to students or perhaps their "marketing value" has not yet shot up in their esteem. A perusal of the figures for the arts and science faculties shows that the percentage of the arts faculty (42.49%) is higher than the percentage of the science faculty (31.18%). Although this was quite contrary to our expectations, the fact remains that the arts faculty has been still successful in retaining its title despite keen competition. It may, however, be stated that the higher percentage of the arts faculty may be attributed to the fact that Kirti College does not provide science courses. It is only the Rajaram College and Gopal Krishna Gokbale College which have courses in both arts and science. Secondly, restrictive admissions given to students are also responsible for the low percentage of the science faculty.

Next to the arts and science faculties, the commerce faculty attracts 17.68% of students. It is obvious that the commercial value of this faculty has not dawned upon the students yet. The meagre percentage of the law students (2.08%) may, I think, be ascribed to the dwindling of litigations in the court of

* All tables appear at the end of the book.

law. Today, the bar has almost ceased to be a land of promise to students. Though the agriculture faculty has become a target of interest lately, it is patronised only by 1.97% of students. This is because the Agriculture College had only one class—F.Y.B.Sc. at the time of this survey. Post-graduate studies do not appear to be rated high as few students (4.61%) go in for them. Under this category, I could approach the arts students (M.A. Parts I and II) enrolled in Rajaram College only.

Of the 911 students covered by the survey, 83.5% are males and 16.5% females. This shows a wide gap. It is regrettable that despite strenuous efforts to provide education to women, only few go in for college education. The percentage of the females should be an eye-opener and, hence, something concrete should be done seriously to popularise college education among them.

The arts faculty receives the biggest percentage of the females (72.67% of the 150). It seems the popularity of the arts faculty still continues unabated among females. The stiff courses in science, commerce and agriculture could net 20.67%, 3.33% and 0.67% of the females respectively. Shall we say that the cold logic of law is not conducive to the feminine temperament, since there is no sample from the law faculty? 2.67% of the females who are pursuing post-graduate studies is negligible. This may be on account of the fact that a high percentage of females gets married before they reach the post-graduate stage.

It is astonishing to note that the arts faculty has still much of appeal to the largest percentage of the males (36.53% of the 761 males), despite openings available in other faculties. This may be imputed to restrictive admissions in other faculties, for example, science and agriculture. Thus, a large number of males turns to the arts faculty. The science faculty has 33.24% of the males on its roll, while the commerce faculty only 20.49%. It may be noted that the percentage of the males doing post-graduate studies (4.99%) is double that of the males from the law (2.49%) and the agriculture faculties (2.23%). It is clear that males prefer post-graduate studies to law studies after their graduation.

PLACE OF ORIGIN AND SEX

Table 2 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and sex. Of the 911 students, 51.81% hail from urban places, while 48.19% come from rural areas. How heartening it is to find that almost half the number of students have roots in mofussil areas! It could be reasoned that value of higher education seems to have been realised by rural people. Further, it could be said that a big percentage of rural students can be ascribed to the rural surroundings of Kolhapur city. Nevertheless, it may be mentioned that the high percentage of urban students is due to the fact that 90.7% of females are city-dwellers.

A detailed break-up of the table shows that of the 439 rural students, 96.81% and of the 472 urban students, 71.19% are males. It is a matter of elation that the large percentage of rural males taking higher education is symbolic of the fact that ample educational facilities have reached the grassroots of our society. But it is very much disappointing to note that of the 439 rural students, only 3.19% and of the 472 urban students 28.81% are females. On the whole, the situation is not at all encouraging because few females (16.5%) avail themselves of college education. This is specially true of the rural females. It is superfluous to say that college education is not as much popular among rural females as among urban females, for it is primarily a socio-economic problem. Villagers do not much believe, it appears, in giving secondary and higher education to females. It is only recently that most of them allow their daughters to complete their primary education. Most of the girls are married during the schooling period or immediately after the completion of primary education. Hence, the problem of giving college education to females does not arise at all. In view of this, the parents of the 3.19% females from rural areas deserve hearty congratulations.

CASTE

Under the category of "caste" are incorporated the following: Brahmin and other advanced castes, such as Saraswat, C.K.P., etc.; Jain; Gujars, etc.; Gujarati, Marwari, Sindhi, Pardeshi and Rajput; Maratha; Lingayat; Intermediate Hindus; Sali, Kasar, Koli, Lonari, Shimp, Kumbhar, Nhavi, Sonar, Burud, Vaishya and Vanjari; Backward and Scheduled Castes: Dhor, Mang, Mahar and Harijan; Neo-Buddhist; Muslims and Christians. For the sake of sheer convenience Jain, Lingayat, Neo-Buddha, Muslim and Christian are treated as castes.

Tables 3 and 4 give the distribution of males and females respectively according to caste. The Maratha males constitute the largest percentage of males (44.02% out of 761). This is because they constitute a solid majority in rural areas which are the feeding centres for colleges in Kolhapur city. Secondly, even in Kolhapur city, there is a large number of Maratha families settled long before the Kolhapur State merged with the Indian Union. A high percentage of the Maratha males prosecuting college education is verily praiseworthy. Next to the Maratha males, there are 23.65% Brahmins and others. This percentage, though comparatively small, reveals the high degree of literacy in this class. The percentages of the Jain males (7.36%) and the Lingayat males (5.26%) appear, contrary to our expectation, somewhat big but it may be noted that there is comparatively a large number of Jain and Lingayat families in Kolhapur city as well as in its surrounding areas. There are 5.78% Backward and Scheduled castes males, and 0.13% Neo-Buddhist males. These low percentages are nothing but a substantial proof that the higher education has not been availed of much by these castes, in spite of the liberal educational concessions offered to them by the

Government, both the present and the earlier State Government. As regards Neo-Buddhist males, it may be said that the followers of Dr. Ambedkar do not seem to have embraced Buddhism universally. It may be observed that Gujar, etc. males do not appear to believe in higher education as there are only 1.58% of the males taking college education. It is regrettable that the Intermediate Hindus seem to be indifferent towards higher education despite educational facilities made available to them; this is clear from their meagre percentage of 6.83. The small percentages of Muslim males (3.02%) and Christian males (1.31%) are attributable to their small number in this region. Of the male students, 1.05% who presumably suffer from certain inhibitions avoid mentioning their castes.

Of the 150 females, 62.67%, the largest percentage, are from Brahmins and other castes. This shows how higher education is most popular among them. College education attracts 20.67% of the Maratha females. Obviously, it is not much popular among them. The percentage of Jain females (6.66%) is indeed appreciable considering the total strength of Jains in this region. The position of female education among Gujars, etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, Muslims and Christians is disappointing, while in case of Backward and Scheduled castes, and Neo-Buddhists, it is supremely deplorable because there is not a single girl going to college from these castes. It could be generalised that higher education does not find as much favour with non-Brahmin and other females as with Brahmin and other females. In the circumstances, attempts at the dissemination of college education among females other than Brahmins and others would be a great service to society as a whole.

FINANCIAL POSITION

Table 5 gives the distribution of males and females according to their financial position. In the absence of any means to know exactly the annual income of the guardians of students, I preferred three broad categories of financial positions: good, fair and poor. Further, it may be stated that students might be honestly ignorant of the actual income of their guardians. Secondly, they might deliberately mis-state their income because of the fear of losing educational concessions. These considerations weighed on my mind in resorting to the above-mentioned pattern. However, it can be said that students can definitely feel and, therefore, state whether they are financially good, fair or poor.

Out of the 761 males, 3.81% and of the 150 females, 9.33% are in "good" financial position. It is clear from this that very few students are placed in such a position. This is very much in keeping with the fact that the percentage of the financially "good" is certainly meagre in our society. It is observed that the percentage of the females having "good" financial position is higher than the percentage of males. There are 6.83% of males and 2.67% of females who are in the "poor" income bracket. The low percentage of females corroborates

the above-mentioned percentage of the females having "good" financial position. It definitely indicates that females are better off financially than males. The largest percentages of males (89.36%) and females (88.00%) are drawn from the middle class as they show their financial position as "fair". It means colleges are mainly "fed" by the middle class in our society.

AGE

Tables 6 and 7 give the distribution of males and females respectively according to their age in complete years. It can be seen from the tables that 11.3% of males and 34.7% of females are in the age-group of 15-17. It means a large number of females enters colleges comparatively earlier than males. The largest percentage of males (50.85%) and females (52.67%) are in the age-bracket of 18-20, as against this the age-group of 21-23 has 27.20% of males and 9.33% of females. Thus, the biggest percentages of males (78.05%) and females (87.37%) are within the age groups of 18-23 and 15 to 20 respectively. It may safely be inferred that a large number of males enters colleges at the age of 18 and completes its education by 23, while the big number of females gets into colleges at the age of 15 and finishes its education by 20. The disparity between the ages of males and females is ascribable to the educational background of students.

MARITAL STATUS

Table 8 gives the distribution of the sample according to marital status. As expected, the percentage of married students is almost negligible. Only 3.0% of males and 1.3% of females have reported as married. It is really perplexing that the percentage of married males is more than the percentage of married females. It is obvious that the marriage age has shot up considerably; college students seem to be loath to get into matrimonial alliance during their college life.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN KOLHAPUR

Tables 9 and 10 give the distribution of males and females respectively according to the place of residence in Kolhapur city. Quite a big percentage of males (33.77%) lives with parents. Rest of the males seek accommodation at places mentioned below: hostels run almost by every caste provide lodging for 23.65% of males. This is one of the features of Kolhapur city. Once it served the purpose of diffusing education to those who were denied it, but presently it has outlived its utility and is not in tune with democratic principles. The meagre percentage of male students (8.14%) dwelling in their college hostels is indicative of the inadequate accommodation facilities offered by the colleges in Kolhapur. There are 7.25% of males who stay with their relatives, while 3.28% of males put up with local guardians and 0.65% of males manage to find bed space with

some patron. Notwithstanding such facilities, 19.44% of males are compelled to seek private accommodation. It is a matter of admiration that 1.97% of males come daily to their colleges from neighbouring villages.

As expected, the highest percentage of females (82.66% out of 150) lives with parents. Ten per cent of females live with local guardians, while 2.66% of them reside with their relatives. One female reports that she is being accommodated by a patron. There are 1.33% of females who come to their college daily from adjacent villages. It must be mentioned here that want of accommodation has forced 2.66% of the females to seek private accommodation. There is no case of females staying either in college hostels or in other hostels, except in that of G.K.G. College. In the end, it may be said that with the establishment of Shivaji University here and the prospective increase in the number of colleges, the need for a ladies' hostel is supremely genuine.

GUARDIANS

General information about students would be incomplete without some knowledge of their guardians. Hence, it was proposed to deal with occupations and educational attainments of their guardians.

It is a matter of happiness that even college education has come within the reach of most students owing to the educational concessions and facilities made available to them. In the circumstances, students from various strata of society have been enabled to receive higher education. Consequently, this involves a fairly wide disparity of background. In the light of this, occupational background of the guardians is considered significant.

Tables 11 and 12 deal with the occupational background of guardians according to sex. The highest percentage of guardians of males (45.86% out of 761) is engaged in farming. This is due to the rural surroundings of Kolhapur city. Thus, the rural background of these students may explain, to some extent, their behaviour in college premises. Next to farming, 17.35% and 11.30% of the guardians of males are in Government and private services respectively. These percentages are not that way high because Kolhapur is a district place where opportunities to enter Government or private services are not as many as in a city like Bombay. In South Maharashtra, Kolhapur city is an industrial and business centre. Consequently, 11.30% of the guardians of males are occupied with industry and business. This percentage should not be underrated in view of the fact that Kolhapur is a district place. Only 1.30% of males have reported that their guardians are independent professionals: doctors, lawyers, artists, contractors, engineers and chartered accountants. This meagre percentage is in consonance with the need of this place. The percent-

age of pensioners is 2.36. There are 2.39% of the guardians of males who are well-to-do persons living on income from their property. It may be noted with interest that one male reports that his guardian is a socio-political worker by "profession". 197% of males state that their guardians are in "other" professions such as goldsmiths, tailors, fishermen, writer, chambhar, burud, purohit, music director and labourer. It is obvious that 2.49% of the guardians of males are engaged in more than one vocation. More than half of the percentage of such guardians is engaged in farming, and trade and business. On the whole, it may be said that a large number of guardians of males is occupied with farming, government and private services, and trade and business.

Of the 150 females, 35.32% and 21.33% have reported that their guardians are in government and private services respectively. As expected, these percentages are high because those in such services, being educated themselves, favour female education. Therefore, they would always send their daughters to colleges for higher education. About 14% of the guardians of females are in trade and business. This is appreciative because businessmen seem to have realised, of late, the significance of female education. It is a matter of great admiration that 11.33% of guardians engaged in farming send their daughters to colleges. Independent professions could claim 4.67% of guardians of females while the percentage of the well-to-do guardians of females is 6.66. Only 1.33% of the guardians of females are socio-political workers and the percentage of pensioners is also 1.33. There are 1.33% of females who have reported that their guardians are busy with more than one vocation. It may be observed in the end that like the guardians of males, the guardians of females too are occupied largely with farming, trade and business, and government and private services.

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS

It is superfluous to mention that the educational background of a family makes a vast difference in the upbringing of children. Students with educational heritage have always advantage over others who lack in it and this has far-reaching consequences upon their careers.

Tables 13 and 14 give the distribution of males and females respectively according to educational attainments of their guardians. Out of 761 males, 82.92% and of the 150 females, 98.66% have reported that their guardians are literate. It means a large number of students has more or less literate guardians but it may be said in particular that almost all females have literate guardians. It is obvious that females have more educational heritage than males. This may expound, to some extent, their behaviour in college premises and outside too.

A detailed examination of the tables reveals below the educational attainments of the guardians of students. The guardians of 3.33% of males and 0.66% of females can only sign their names, while guardians of 24.25% of males

and 3.38% of females can only read and write. The percentages of males and females whose guardians have completed their primary education are 22.98 and 4.73 respectively; as against this there are 18.86% of guardians of males and 9.46% of guardians of females who are non-matriculate. The percentage of matriculate guardians of females (25.00) is higher than the percentage of matriculate guardians of males (11.80), while 6.81% of males and 14.86% of females state that their guardians have college education but are not graduates. The percentage of graduate guardians of females (29.73) is higher than the percentage of graduate guardians of males (8.87). Again, the percentage of guardians of males (2.06) having advanced education is less than the percentage of guardians of females (10.81). It may be generalised in conclusion that females have a comparatively better educational heritage than males. This factor largely explains the behavioural pattern of males both within and without colleges.

Chapter Three

READING HABITS

INTRODUCTION

For the realisation of individuality and for the success of parliamentary democracy, people are, among other freedoms, granted and guaranteed freedom of speech and expression. It also includes freedom of propagation of ideas and that freedom is secured by the freedom of circulation. Liberty of circulation is as essential to that freedom as the liberty of publication. This is supremely availed of by parties whose first and foremost aspiration is victory at the elections. They operate ceaselessly to win the political allegiance of the mass of men and women. They impart "political lessons" untiringly and sell "big lies" repeatedly by exploiting all the devices of propaganda. In order to judge independently public affairs, a citizen ought to, among other things, peruse newspapers, periodicals and political literature. This naturally will enable him to choose the government he desires.

In this chapter, I am concerned with reading of newspapers, periodicals (both independent), party organs and literature, and political literature. This will not only reveal the knowledge of public affairs of students but also spotlight their political inclinations. Henceforth, every question is viewed according to faculty, sex, caste, and place of origin. However, it must be stated here that the percentages faculty and castewise could not be shown technically in the subsequent tables.

NEWSPAPERS

Among the principal agencies of instruction in public affairs—political parties, books, periodicals, schools, clubs, churches, the motion pictures, radio and hearsay—the newspaper is the most important feature of our civilisation. It is the most widely disseminated single agent of instruction in the modern world. It performs its functions of reporting news and providing a forum for discussion and for the clarification of public opinion necessary in democracy.

Table 15 gives the distribution of the sample according to faculty and sex. "Newspapers" mean daily newspapers here. It is very gratifying to note that out of 761 males, 99.08% and of the 150 females, 99.33% read newspapers. This at once proves beyond a shadow of doubt that the student community is well informed on public affairs and day-to-day occurrences. It is obvious that reading of newspapers has nothing to do with sex. Thus, it could be concluded that almost all males and females are equally familiar with public affairs and daily happenings.

A glance at the table conveys that reading habits of males and females are not in any way influenced by faculty. All the same, it may be mentioned that cent per cent of the males of the commerce, law, and agriculture faculties read newspapers, while cent per cent of the females of all faculties, except the arts faculty, peruse newspapers. Generally, it is believed that the arts graduates are the people who could be called the corridors of opinion, and hence it is a pity that the percentage of reading of newspapers from the arts faculty does not come to cent per cent. On the whole, it may be said that males and females of every faculty are conversant with public affairs and day-to-day occurrences.

Table 16 gives the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 99.09% and of the 472 urban students, 99.15% read newspapers. It is worth noting that almost cent per cent students from rural and urban places read newspapers. How revealing it is that rural students do not lag behind urban students in their habit of reading newspapers. It is explicit that rurality does not hinder students from reading newspapers. It may be said in conclusion that almost all students from urban and rural places are acquainted with public affairs and day-to-day happenings.

A perusal of the table displays distinctly that reading habits of urban and rural students are not governed by their caste. Almost cent per cent students of every caste from urban and rural places read newspapers. This willy-nilly drives one to generalise that students of every caste from urban and rural places are apprised of public affairs and day-to-day occurrences.

COLUMNS OF NEWSPAPERS

The publishing of newspapers has become big business. The key problem in their business is to maintain, if not to increase, circulation. The publisher must hold his readers because he is dependent on their patronage. He has to gauge his public and give it what it wants or can be persuaded to want. Therefore, besides public affairs, every conceivable domestic and social interest is catered to. A knowledge alone of a number of students reading or not reading newspapers would certainly be not enough for our purpose. We have to inquire into what columns exactly of newspapers students are interested in. I have presented fifteen types of columns to students: films, dacoities and kidnappings, love-affairs, advertisements and public notices, cartoons, crosswords, accidents, sports, religious, scientific, educational, economic, political, and other editorial. This was calculated to catch them unawares so that while they were filling all the columns their political interest would automatically be revealed. While considering the interest of students in the columns mentioned above, I have to restrict myself to the consideration of a few columns for the sake of brevity: scientific, educational, economic, political, editorial, films and sports. This self-imposed restriction, I hope, does not have adverse effect upon the results.

Tables 17 and 18 deal with the interest in the columns of newspapers according to sex. I have considered below students' interest in the columns of newspapers in the descending order of percentages. How crystal clear it is that 72.54% of the 724 males reading newspapers are interested in political news. This is the highest percentage of males taking interest in the columns of newspapers, while 59.63% of the 149 females reading newspapers have interest in political matters. It is explicit that females do not take as much interest in political tidings as males. On the whole, it is assertable that a large number of students are principally interested in matters political. It may, therefore, be generalised that they do keep themselves abreast of political affairs.

Educational news interest 69.68% of males and 64.99% of females. This is very much in consonance with their "profession". This is a clear indication of how students are susceptible to things educational and are very much education-minded. However, it may be said of females that they have less interest in educational news than males. A high percentage of males (62.66%) and females (52.78%) entertaining scientific news is symbolic of the fact that student community is in touch with the scientific advancements. It means scientific age is dawning upon the student community. It is obvious that females are not as much science-minded as males. Sport news engages the attention of a high percentage of males (61.10%) and females (67.00%). It is heartening that a high percentage of students has, besides bookish things, interest in sports. It is plain that females are more sport-minded than males. Film news captivates a large number of clientele, as 71.02% of females and 57.28% of males read it. Obviously, a large number of students are fascinated by film news. It is evident that females are more charmed by film news than males. This is a highest percentage for females taking interest in various columns of newspapers. The dry economic matters find more favour with males (40.69%) than with females (24.79%). It is surely disappointing that students do not take much interest in economic news when the five-year plans are launched to ameliorate the social and economic lot of our people, and eventually to bridge the gap between the haves and have-nots. Further, it may be stated that economic news should not be ignored by students because most of the problems have both economic and political bearing : most of the times, political decisions are governed by economic considerations and *vice versa*. Newspaper leaders are read by 40.69% of males and 28.14% of females. Though these percentages are comparatively small, it may be pleaded in defence of non-readers that editorials are not written objectively. It is charged that the press has become the willing tool of the powerful business interests. Editorial policy, it is claimed, is governed by the business interests and associations of the publishers. Consequently, leaders are written only to take a line that is not critical of them. As a result of this, patrons divert their attention more to other columns than to leaders, as is revealed above. It may be observed in the end that a highest percentage of males (72.54%) is interested in political news, while 71.02% of females are allured by film news. This at once discloses the wide disparity between the tastes of males and females.

This bears out that females do not as much relish political matters as males. It is only in respect of film and sport news that the percentages of females are higher than the percentages of males. It obviously means that "social entertainments" appeal more to females than to males.

REASONS FOR NOT READING NEWSPAPERS

When a majority of the students reads newspapers, the reasons for not reading them deserve our consideration. I have provided eight reasons to students : no liking, financial difficulties, no facilities for reading, short of time, friends not reading, elders not allowing, prejudicial news in newspapers and other. It must be stated here that these reasons are not shown in the table.

Out of 7 male non-readers, 6 grumble that there are no facilities made available to them for reading newspapers. Thus, it is inferable that these males would have been readers of newspapers, had they no difficulties in getting them. One male non-reader reports that he has aversion for reading newspapers. He seems to be a peculiar case. The female non-reader says that she is short of time. It means had she enough leisure, she would have been a reader.

PERIODICALS

Like newspapers, periodicals are a good instrument of education in the modern world. Generally, almost all of them give instruction in political affairs. They are considered separately because they are not newsy like newspapers and the information furnished in them is better "digested" and thought out than in newspapers. Periodicals mean weeklies, fortnightlies, monthlies, quarterlies, miscellanies, etc.

Table 19 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. It is encouraging to note that out of 761 males, 93.96% and of the 150 females, 96.67% read periodicals. This shows that near cent per cent of students take interest in reading periodicals and thereby acquaint themselves with the thoughtful matters therein. The high percentage of females is indicative of the fact that *they are more fond of periodicals than males*. It is *indubitable* that *reading of periodicals has nothing to do with sex*. It may be mentioned, by the by, that the *percentages of males and females reading newspapers are little more than the percentages of males and females reading periodicals*. It obviously means that newspapers are read more than periodicals by students.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that the reading habits of *males and females are not in any way governed by faculty*. However, it may be said that the lowest percentage of males and females is from the science faculty. It signifies that science students are not as much fond of periodicals as students of other faculties. It is, further, perceptible that the percentages of females from every faculty are higher than the percentages of males from every faculty.

Table 20 gives the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 92.71% and of the 472 urban students, 95.95% read periodicals. It is clear that almost all students from urban and rural places are familiar with the thoughtful matters in periodicals. All the same, it is observable that the percentage of urban students is higher than the percentage of rural students. It means periodicals are more popular with urban students than with rural students. In the end, it may be generalised that the reading habits of students are not markedly influenced by their place of origin.

A castewise consideration of the sample reveals that almost all students of every caste from rural and urban places read periodicals. It is very much heartening that students of every caste from rural and urban places are conversant with the thought information in periodicals. Therefore, it is inferable that the reading habits of students are not in any way influenced by their caste.

COLUMNS OF PERIODICALS

Periodicals too have become a commercial undertaking, a seller of a commodity or service, and they prepare their 'waves' according to their estimate of the market. In so far as they try to influence market demand, they are guided like any other business by considerations of profit. This is realised by catering to various types of information that attract a large number of patrons. An information exclusively about a number of students reading or not reading periodicals would not be much helpful unless students' interest in various columns of periodicals is examined. I have offered thirteen types of information to students : films, love-stories, advertisements, cartoons, crosswords, detective stories, religious, scientific, economic, social, political, educational, and other. An ample option is presented to ensnare students off the guard as far as their interest in political matter is concerned. While treating the above-mentioned items, I have confined myself to few of them for the sake of sheer convenience : film, scientific, economic, social, political and educational. Such self-willed restriction, I hope, would not affect the results adversely.

Tables 21 and 22 are concerned with the interest in various types of information furnished in periodicals according to sex. I have considered below the interest of students in the types of information in the descending order of percentages. Out of 715 males and of the 145 females reading periodicals, 66.73% and 51.03% respectively take interest in political matters. This clearly indicates that a large number of students are familiarised with the thoughtful political information. It is a matter of happiness that they have rightly taken to serious study of political matters. It must, further, be stated that a large number of students read political news in newspapers ; and political matters in periodicals. This evinces the foremost interest of students in political affairs. But it has got to be said that females do not have as much interest in political matters as males. How commendable it is that 65.05% of males and 58.61% of females relish educational matters. It means they do not remain content with educational news in news-

papers. Hence, a large number of them take to serious exposition of educational matters in periodicals. It is evidently perceptible that educational matters fail to charm as many females as males. It is a matter of pride that 61.70% of males and 53.10% of females read scientific information from periodicals. This demonstrates their quest for scientific matters. This, further, implies how students are attracted towards science. All the same, it must be mentioned that females have less interest in scientific matters than males. This may be attributed to their temperament. Societal information holds the attention of 54.98% of males and 50.34% of females. This may be deemed as a manifestation of the fact that student community is concerned with societal issues. Thus, its interest in societal matters is praiseworthy. It is explicit that females are not as much concerned with societal problems as males. As regards film information it may be stated that a highest percentage of females (62.75%) and comparatively small percentage of males (50.50%) are fascinated by it. It is plain that more than half of the students are attracted towards film news and information. Females have obviously more interest in film matters than males. Economic matters could appeal to 37.91% of males and 17.93% of females. This spotlights once more students' less interest in matters economic. This is especially true of females. On the whole, it can be inferred that the percentages of males and females reading various types of information are sufficiently high except for economic matters. But it can also be said in the same breath that the percentages of males are consistently higher, except for film information, than the percentages of females. It obviously means that males have more interest in various items of information in periodicals than females.

REASONS FOR NOT READING PERIODICALS

It is quite pertinent to examine the reasons that have motivated 5.91% of males and 3.33% of females not to read periodicals. I have offered seven reasons to students: no liking, financial difficulties, facilities not made available for reading, short of time, friends not reading, elders not allowing, and other. It must be stated that these reasons are not shown in the table.

Out of 46 male non-readers, 39.13% have expressed their aversion for reading periodicals. It may be noted that 43.48% of them do not read periodicals because of shortage of time. About 22.00% of them regret that there are no facilities made available to them for reading. It is unfortunate that 10.87% of them have economic difficulties. There are 13.04% of males who do not read periodicals because their friends do not read them.

Of the 5 female non-readers, 40.00% have aversion for reading periodicals. It is observable that another 40% of them are short of time. Thus, they are unable to read. Economic difficulties come in the way of 20% of them. It is apparent that a large number of male and female non-readers have dislike for reading periodicals. But in respect of other non-readers, it can be said that they would have been readers, had they not suffered from the difficulties stated above.

PARTY NEWSPAPERS AND LITERATURE

The first and foremost aspiration of political parties is to seize power by drawing the electorate together into majorities. Consequently, they endeavour to attract and organise voters to produce a majority in the legislature. They strive and struggle, minute in and out, to mobilize public opinion in their favour. They indefatigably clamour to convince the sovereign electors that only their programme will unfailingly ameliorate their lot. Every fact adduced goes to show that the party is right. Argument is mixed with facts and figures, the weak points of the opposition are paraded and ridiculed or denounced, while one's own promises are proclaimed as both desirable and possible. Among many methods adopted by parties to "swing" over blocks of voters, party newspapers and literature are most powerful and effective. Therefore, reading of party newspapers and literature becomes significant. It may enable citizens to intelligently know which party will eventually deliver the goods. It may also seep out their political predilections.

PARTY NEWSPAPERS

In the light of the above position, it must be stated that the most widely-read newspapers in the countries are owned and directed by what may be broadly called the "capitalist" class. Parties, therefore, organise themselves to guard their interests and ideals against the most persistent opposition of the "capitalist" press. Newspapers are most often avowed or unavowed tool of a particular party and their affiliations are commonly known to the people.

Tables 23 and 24 are devoted to reading of party newspapers according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 77.27% and of the 150 females, 43.33% read party newspapers. This means a large number of students, especially males, are familiarised with party ideals, programmes and views on current issues. This is indeed commendable because these students have interest in party politics. It is clearly perceptible that a high percentage of males has taken to reading of party newspapers than that of females. Therefore, it is safe to maintain that males have more interest in party politics than females, and hence it is arguable that males are more conversant with party ideals and programmes than females.

It is very interesting and instructive to note that of the readers of party newspapers, some are readers of newspapers of one party only, and others of more than one party. This phenomenon merits careful treatment because it will display the political affiliations of students. Out of 588 males and of the 65 females reading party newspapers, 24.32% and 63.08% read newspapers of one party respectively, while 75.68% of males and 36.92% of females peruse newspapers of more than one party. It is obvious that a large number of females remain content with reading of newspapers of one party. This indicates their loyalty to a party of their choice, and hence they do not bother to know the positions of other parties. On the other hand, a large number of males deserve

compliment as they read newspapers of more than one party. This obviously signifies that they acquaint themselves with ideals, and programmes, etc. of more than one party. This may naturally befriend them to view the party politics in a proper perspective. It follows from this that a large number of males not only comprehend the positions of parties but also are quite competent to choose between the rightist, centralist and leftist parties. In the end, it may be concluded that females are not as much qualified to understand party affairs as males.

A detailed break-up of the tables further shows the partywise clientele from males and females. Such treatment will demonstrate the political inclinations of students and discover the popularity of parties. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of 143 males and of the 41 females reading newspapers of one party, a highest percentage of males (63.63%) and females (82.93%) peruses newspapers of the Congress party. This distinctly discloses the fact that the Congress party is the most popular party among students. However, it is observable that it is not as much popular among males as among females. Next to the Congress party, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti slightly fares well, especially among males, as 10.48% of males read newspapers of the Samiti. Only 4.89% of females peruse them. This immediately reveals that students give response to burning issues of the day and are fully alive to their political surroundings. Rest of the parties have so few readers from males and females that any treatment is unwarranted. In the end, it would be in the fitness of things to generalise that the largest number of males (72.03%) read newspapers of centralist parties: the Congress party, P.S.P. and the Socialist party; while 13.28% of male readers are attracted towards newspapers of leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party and the Peasants and Workers party. Rightist parties—Jan Sangh, Swatantra Party, and Muslim League—have 4.20% male readers. In respect of females, it may be said that centralist parties—Congress party and P.S.P.—have the largest number of female readers (85.37%); while leftist parties—Communist party and Peasants and Workers party—have 9.76% of female readers. But the rightist parties do not have female readers. Thus, it broadly becomes clear that centralist parties are most popular among males and females, and next to them, leftist parties occupy the place. Rightist parties fare very badly.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that a large number of males and comparatively small number of females from every faculty read party newspapers. It follows from this that faculty does not govern reading habits of students. However, it would be useful to closely study the facultywise figures. I have considered below the percentages of male and female readers in the descending order. A highest percentage of male readers (94.74%) is from law faculty, and post-graduate classes have 86.84% of male readers. These high percentages may be ascribed to their eagerness to know party affairs. It obviously signifies that males of the law faculty and of post-graduate classes are more familiarised with party ideals and programmes than males of other faculties. A

comparatively low percentage of males hails from the agriculture faculty. This may be attributed to their age, as all of them are students of first year B.Sc Agriculture. In the same breath, it may be pointed out that the percentage of male readers from the science faculty (69.57%) is also comparatively small. This may be imputed to their moderate interest in party affairs.

In respect of female readers, attention is mainly paid to females of the arts and science faculties, as their number is sufficiently large. However, a general observation reveals that females, in large number, from every faculty read party newspapers. It means they know party ideals and programmes, and they are not totally indifferent towards party affairs. But it must be stated here that females from every faculty do not have as much interest in party affairs as males from every faculty. It is indeed surprising that the percentage of female readers from the science faculty (54.84%) is more than the percentage of the female readers (39.45%) from the arts faculty. Only 20.00% of females of the commerce faculty read party newspapers. A female of the agriculture faculty is a reader of party newspapers. It is noteworthy that 75% of females of post-graduate classes are patrons of party newspapers. It is noteworthy that highly educated females have interest in party affairs.

Table 25 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 79.27% and of the 472 urban students, 64.62% are readers of party newspapers. It goes without saying that rural students have more interest in party politics than urban students. By implication, it may be said that rural students are better informed about party ideals and programmes than urban students.

A castewise consideration of the sample shows that reading habits of students are not at all governed by their caste. A considerably high percentage of students of every caste from rural and urban places reads party newspapers. Thus, students of every caste are in the know of party affairs. It is, further, obvious that politics is no longer a monopoly of one caste, but it has become a grazing ground for all. It must be placed on record that a Neo-Buddhist student does not read party newspapers. It is observable that the percentages of students of every caste from rural areas are almost consistently higher than the percentages of students of every caste from urban areas. It would not be out of place to mention in particular that the percentages of rural and urban Marathas are higher than those of the rural and urban Brahmins and others. It means Brahmins and others do not have as much interest in party affairs as Marathas.

REASONS FOR READING PARTY NEWSPAPERS

It would be quite revealing to probe the reasons that prompt students to read party newspapers. Table 26 gives the distribution of the reasons for reading of newspapers according to sex. I have provided eleven reasons to students: getting free of charge, being forced by party, compelled by elders, forced by friends,

persuaded by party, persuaded by elders, persuaded by friends, facilities made available for reading, other newspapers not available, and other. I have considered below the percentages of males and females indicating reasons for reading in the descending order.

Out of 588 male readers and of the 65 female readers, a highest percentage of males (91.51%) and females (86.13%) read party newspapers out of liking. It is obvious that a large number of students have interest in party affairs, as is indicated above. In a bid to win over voters, parties offer reading facilities to readers. Such facilities are availed of by 42.01% of males and 44.60% of females. Had the facilities not been made available to these students, they would not have been readers. It is plain that the motive-force behind reading of party newspapers is the personal liking, and the availability of facilities. A meagre number of students have mentioned other reasons : free of charge, forced by party, compelled by elders, forced by friends, persuaded by party, persuaded by elders, persuaded by friends, other newspapers not available, and other. Though these reasons do not much matter, it may be said that compulsion by parties, elders, and friends should be despised strongly in the name of democracy.

REASONS FOR NOT READING PARTY NEWSPAPERS

It would be quite useful to learn why some students do not read party newspapers, as a large number of them do. Table 27 gives the reasons for not reading of party newspapers according to sex. I have offered ten reasons to students : elders not permitting, no liking, short of time, fear of being branded as a party-man, prejudicial views of party newspapers, not getting free of charge, no facilities made available for reading, friends not reading, economic difficulties, and other. I have considered below the percentages of males and females indicating reasons for not reading in the descending order.

Out of 173 male non-readers and of the 85 female non-readers, a highest percentage of males (61.27%) and females (47.04%) does not read because of their aversion for party newspapers. It obviously means that these students do not like party affairs. This is more true of males than of females. How right 27.74% of males and 42.34% of females when they say that they do not read party newspapers because of the prejudiced views expressed therein. It goes without saying that party newspapers are partial in their views and therefore, these students do not wish to associate themselves with them. 13.29% of males and 9.41% of females cannot read for want of facilities. It is evident that given facilities, these students would be readers of party newspapers. Rest of the reasons mentioned by a few students do not deserve any consideration.

PARTY LITERATURE

Party literature is broadly of two kinds : that destined mainly for candidates and workers, and that to be broadcast among the electorate. However, I have

not made any distinction between the two. Party literature includes pamphlets upon special topics, periodicals, sets of speaker's notes, booklets full of "points" or "shot and shell", leaflets and the "address to the electors" or professions *de foi*, etc. The mass of literature is immense and its chief feature is that it is inveterately dogmatic, and maintains that the party is right.

Tables 28 and 29 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 54.61% and of the 150 females, 37.33% read party literature. It is praiseworthy that more than half of the males read party literature, while the number of female readers is comparatively small. It means they are well informed about party ideals, programmes, and views on current problems. This is largely true of males. All the same, it must be mentioned that a comparatively small number of female readers should not be underrated but appreciated in view of the surroundings in which they grow. It is indeed commendable that females, though not considerably large in number, take to reading of party literature. It follows from this that they do not want to keep aloof from party politics, as they are also sovereign electors. In conclusion, it must be observed that the percentages of the males and the females reading party literature are lower than the percentage of males and females reading newspapers, periodicals and party newspapers. This may be attributed to the fact that in every country, printed news and opinion, attractively written and produced, are purchasable at an exceedingly cheap rate, so that few people go a single day without reading a newspaper or conversing with somebody who has. It is the most widely disseminated single agent of instruction in the modern world.

A close perusal of the above percentages of males and females reading party literature shows that out of 408 male readers and of the 56 female readers, 28.68% and 39.29% read literature of one party, while 71.32% of males and 60.71% of females read literature of more than one party. It is plain that the percentages of males and females perusing literature of one party are lower than the percentages of males and females reading literature of more than one party. How encouraging it is to note that a high percentage of males and females does not remain content with reading of literature of one party but familiarises itself with literature of more than one party. It is superfluous to state that these students are acquainted with the positions of parties and could objectively view party politics. Surely, they could be very much unbiased in their understanding of party politics: they may be considered conscientious readers, keeping abreast of positions of parties. It is clear that males are more informed about the positions of parties than females.

A detailed break-down of the tables, further, displays the number of students perusing literature of one party. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of 117 males and of the 22 females reading literature of one party, a highest percentage of males (50.42%) and females (54.54%) reads the literature of the Congress party. This at once discloses how the Congress party is most popular among students: this reveals

its grip upon students. However, it must be made clear that the Congress party is more popular among females than among males. It is noticeable that next to the Congress party, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti finds favour with 17.94% of the male readers and 22.72% of female readers. It goes without saying that the demand for the Samyukta Maharashtra State could attract this number of readers. It follows from this that students are very much alive to the burning problems of the day. It means they are certainly not passive spectators but take active interest in current issues. Evidently, the Samiti is more popular among females than among males. It is apparent that the Socialist party, the Swatantra party and the Muslim League do not have a single male reader for its literature. Similarly, literature of the Communist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Republican party, the Peasants and Workers party, the Swatantra party and the Muslim League is not read by females. All this is indicative of the esteem in which these parties are held by students. Rest of the parties have so little clientele from males and females that any treatment would be undesirable. On the whole, it may be observed that except the Congress party and, to some extent, the Samiti, other parties are almost ostracised by males and females. In the end it may be said that a highest percentage of males (58.11%) and females (63.54%) reads literature of centralist parties : the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the Socialist party. Leftist parties—Communist party, Republican party, Peasants and Workers party, Lal Nishan Gat—occupy second place, as 18.67% of males and 4.5% of females read their literature. Rightist parties—Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha—attract 4.26% of male readers and 9% of female readers.

A facultywise treatment of the sample reveals that a large number of males and a comparatively small number of females from every faculty read party literature. It is clear that faculty does not in any way affect the reading habits of students. All the same, it would be quite useful to study the position faculty-wise. I have considered below the percentages of male and female readers in the descending order. A highest percentage of male readers (63.16%) is from the law faculty, and the post-graduate classes have the same percentage of the male readers. These high percentages are symbolic of their awareness to know party politics. It may also be imputed to their liking for party affairs. This development should be rightly understood because those prosecuting higher education are evincing interest in party politics. It is obvious that they are not keeping themselves ignorant of party ideals and programmes. It can be concluded that males of the law faculty and post-graduate classes are more familiarised with the positions of parties than males of other faculties. A comparatively low percentage of male readers (43.87%) is from the science faculty. This may be taken as demonstrative of their moderate interest in party affairs. A glance at the tables shows that the percentages of males from every faculty are higher than the percentages of females from every faculty, excepting the percentage for the agriculture faculty. Thus males of every faculty have more interest in party affairs than females of every faculty.

In respect of female readers, attention is paid mainly to females of the arts and science faculties, as their number is sufficiently large. All the same, it is

perceptible that females from every faculty read party literature. The percentage of females of the arts faculty (37.61%) is higher than the percentage of females of the science faculty. It is inferable that females of the science faculty do not have as much interest in party affairs as females of the arts faculty. It is noteworthy that 40% of females of the commerce faculty, cent per cent females of the agriculture faculty and 50% of females of the post-graduate classes are readers of party literature. On the whole, it is observable that those prosecuting higher education have interest in party affairs, and especially the percentage of females of the post-graduate classes is noteworthy.

Table 30 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 55.12% and of the 472 urban students, 47.03% read party literature. It is plain that rural students excel urban students in their reading of party literature. It is inferable that rural students are more informed about party programmes and ideologies than urban students. It means urban students do not have as much interest in party politics as rural students. Thus, the change of politics from urban areas to rural places should be noted.

A castewise consideration of the sample indicates that reading habits of students are not governed by their caste. A glimpse at the table conveys that a considerably large number of students of every caste from urban and rural places read party literature. It means students of every caste are familiarised with party ideals and programmes. Obviously, party politics is no longer the monopoly of a particular caste. All castes are taking interest in party affairs. Upon a close examination of the sample, it becomes evident that a Neo-Buddhist student is not a reader of party politics. His is a peculiar case of non-response. Further, the percentages of the Gujar, etc. students from rural as well as urban places are deplorably small (rural 14.29% and urban 20%). It is demonstrative of their moderate interest in party affairs. It may be mentioned, by the by, that the percentages of the Marathas from rural and urban places are higher than the percentages of the Brahmins and others from rural and urban areas. It may be concluded that the Brahmins and others do not have as much interest in party politics as the Marathas have. In the end, it may be pointed out that the percentages of the Jain students from rural (62.5%) and urban (58.82%) places are higher than the percentages of students of other castes from urban and rural areas. It is symbolic of their deep interest in party affairs.

REASONS FOR READING PARTY LITERATURE

A study of the reasons that induce students to read party literature is quite revealing. Table 31 gives the account of the reasons for reading party literature according to sex. I have provided eleven reasons to students: getting free of charge, liking, compelled by party, forced by elders, forced by friends, persuaded by party, persuaded by elders, persuaded by friends, facilities made available for reading, other literature not available, and other. I have treated

below the percentages of males and females indicating reasons for their reading in the descending order. It is quite gratifying that out of 408 males and of the 56 females reading party literature, a highest percentage of males (84.31%) and of females (69.65%) is enthused to read out of their liking for party literature. This at once discloses their interest in party affairs. Facilities made available for reading are availed of by 33.09% of males and 35.72% of females. This is in keeping with the fact that parties in order to propagate their ideals and programmes make available their literature to public. It is explicit that other reasons encourage but a meagre percentage of readers. Hence, they are not treated here. All the same, it may be said that few students fall prey to the persuasion of party, friends and elders, while few of them are forced to read by party, friends and elders. Democracy believes in persuasion but certainly not in force. Therefore, compulsion of students to read party literature is disdainful. In the end, it may be observed that it is sheer "liking for party literature" and "availability of facilities" that serve as appetizer for reading.

REASONS FOR NOT READING PARTY LITERATURE

Investigation of the reasons for reading party literature necessitates consideration of reasons for not reading party literature. Table 32 deals with the reasons for not reading party literature according to sex. In all I have offered ten reasons to students: elders not allowing, no liking, short of time, fear of being branded as party man, fear of not getting government service in future, not getting free of charge, facilities not made available for reading, friends not reading, economic difficulties, and other. I have considered below the percentages of males and females indicating reasons for their not reading in the descending order. Out of 346 males and of the 94 females not reading party literature, a highest percentage of males (60.98%) and females (74.26%) does not read on account of its dislike for party literature. This may mean that these students do not have any interest in party politics. A high percentage of females indicates that they have less interest in party affairs than males. It may be noted with interest that 28.32% of males and 10.89% of females could not read for want of facilities made available for reading. It clearly implies that inspite of their desire to read party literature, they are incapacitated by the non-availability of facilities. There are 12.43% of males and 0.99% of females who have expressed their inability to read because of want of time. Had 6.36% of males and 3.96% of females been given party literature free of charge, they would have read it. It is surprising that 2.02% of males and 0.99% of females have stated that they do not read because their friends do not read. This implies that association has some effect on reading habits of students. It must be recorded that elders of 2.60% of males and 2.97% of females do not permit them to read party literature. There are 3.47% of career-minded males who are not readers because of the fear of not getting government service. It appears that the association with certain party mars the prospects of students. It is amusing to note that 4.91% of males do not read, for they are afraid of being branded as partyman. It means there are some

parties which do not have the social and legal sanction, otherwise there was no need to express the above fear. Sympathies may be extended to 6.36% of males because they cannot read owing to economic difficulties. In the end, it must be observed that a highest percentage of students does not have liking for party literature. It has become abundantly clear that excepting the dislike of students for party literature, other difficulties stated by them are avoidable. Hence, it may be maintained that these students would have been readers had their difficulties been removed. This would have undoubtedly increased the number of readers of party literature.

POLITICAL LITERATURE

Perusal of political literature could be considered as more important than reading of newspapers, periodicals, party newspapers and literature. Newspapers are generally newsy and give prejudiced version of events. They always take favourable stance on issues and defend it untiringly. Party newspapers and literature are essentially propagandist and, therefore, biased. Even when a reader reads newspapers and literature of more than one party, the basic knowledge to comprehend rightly not only party positions but also the nature of State, systems of government and statuses of individuals, is indispensable on the part of every citizen. This will also help visualise the political propensities of students. Under the category "political literature" are comprised democracy, dictatorship, capitalism, socialism, communism, Gandhism, Sarvodaya philosophy, and other.

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Tables 33 and 34 give the distribution of the sample according to faculty and sex. Out of 761 males, 73.2% and of the 150 females, 48.7% read political literature. How commendable it is that student community not only delights in reading newspapers, periodicals, party newspapers and literature, but also familiarises itself with political literature. It means students are not only acquainted with current events and party positions but also are in the know of thoughtful and thought-provoking political literature. It is evident that a majority of males has interest in political literature. Obviously, females have comparatively less interest in political literature. This may be attributed to their temperamental dislike for reading serious and stiff literature.

A detailed composition of the tables shows clientele each type of political literature attracts. I have treated below the percentages of males and females reading political literature in the descending order. Out of 558 males and of the 73 females perusing political literature, a highest percentage of males (92.29%) and females (91.78%) reads literature on democracy. This immediately reveals the top popularity of democracy among students. It may broadly be said that they have faith in and love for democracy. It is quite heartening that males and females are almost unanimous in their esteem of democracy. Although socialism is much talked about in India, it could rally round 42.29% of male readers and 23.29% of female readers. This patronage of readers is

not in keeping with our protestations of socialism. The wind of socialism should pervade student world and be impressed upon that socialism is not antagonistic to democracy but can very well go hand in hand. Strenuous efforts would have to be made to popularise socialism among females whose percentage is smaller than that of males. Notwithstanding the dynamic appeal of communism to students and the untiring endeavours of communist parties to infiltrate among them, it could hook 34.59% of male readers and 19.18% of female readers. It is explicit that communism is more popular among males than females. Dictatorship has generally a hypnotic appeal to students but it has charmed 32.08% of males and 36.99% of female readers. The high percentage of females, I believe, is attributable to their inherent nature of dictating males. Capitalism, though denounced to hell, finds favour with 30.29% of male readers and 19.18% of female readers. It is plain that it is more popular among males than *among females*. Despite attempts at the diffusion of Gandhism—once the dynamic and driving force during the national struggle for freedom—and the grandiose tributes paid to it frequently by leaders, it could delight but few males (21.33%) and females (17.81%). Evidently, females do not have interest in Gandhism to the extent to which males have. Like Gandhism, Sarvodaya philosophy too does not receive warm response from readers, as 21.33% of males and 28.77% of females care to read it. Somehow, it is obliged more by females than by males.

A facultywise treatment of the sample indicates that a high percentage of students from every faculty reads political literature. It means reading habits of students are not influenced by their faculty. However, a close examination of the percentages shows that a smallest percentage of male readers (65.23%) and female readers (45.16%) is from the science faculty. This at once demonstrates their moderate interest in political literature.

Table 35 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 74.3% and of the 472 urban students, 64.4% peruse political literature. A high percentage of rural students is symbolic of their more interest in political literature than urban students. It is, therefore, inferable that rural students are more informed politically than urban students. This, further, implies that rural students not only take more interest in reading newspapers, periodicals, party newspapers and literature but also in reading serious political literature than urban students.

A castewise consideration of the sample shows a considerably high percentage of students of every caste from rural and urban places reading political literature. It means students of all castes have fairly good knowledge of politics. It follows from this that politics is not the preserve of a particular caste. It may, further, be said that reading habits of students are not governed by their caste. A close observation of the table implies that the percentages of rural students from every caste are almost consistently higher than the percentages of urban

students from every caste. The percentages of the Marathas from rural and urban places are higher than the percentages of Brahmins and others from rural and urban areas. This shows that Marathas are more interested in political literature than Brahmins and others, and therefore, they have more political knowledge than the latter. In the end, it must be reported that a Neo-Buddhist student is not a reader.

REASONS FOR NOT READING POLITICAL LITERATURE

When a large number of students read political literature, it is pertinent to study why 26.8% of males and 51.3% of females do not peruse it. Table 36 is concerned with the reasons for not reading political literature according to sex. I have supplied eight reasons to students : not permitted by elders, no liking for political literature, short of time, not getting free of charge, facilities not made available for reading, financial difficulties, friends not reading, and other. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order.

Out of 203 male non-readers and of the 77 female non-readers, a highest percentage of males (59.60%) and females (75.34%) has clearly expressed their dislike for political literature. Obviously, this is more true of males than females. It is unfortunate that 32.02% of males and 11.69% of females cannot read, inspite of their desire, because of want of facilities, while 9.36% of males and 3.90% of females state that they do not peruse, for they do not get political literature free of charge. Males are more in need of this charity than females. It is to be noted that 11.82% of males and 3.90% of females do not have time to read political literature. It is shocking that elders of 44.3% of males do not permit them to read political literature. One can understand if the elders prohibit the reading of party newspapers and literature but certainly not the reading of political literature. Financial difficulties have come in the way of reading by 7.39% of males ; and a meagre percentage of males has nastily stated that it is not a reader because its friend is not. On the whole, it is observable that excepting the "dislike" of students for political literature, other difficulties mentioned by them are not insurmountable. It means had there been no such difficulties, these students would have been readers of political literature.

Chapter Four

DISCUSSIONS AND MEETINGS

INTRODUCTION

Liberal democratic government is impossible without freedom of thought and speech. Only through free expression is it possible for the people generally to learn what grievances and social maladjustments require governmental action, and to discuss the best means of meeting them. Only through free discussion can the people exercise the influence and control over government that is necessary for effective democracy. Men must be free to argue wrongly as well as rightly, because it is largely through the open exposure of error by discussion that we come to understand why we believe what we believe. Freedom to think and speak will avail little unless it is supported by the further freedom to assemble peacefully for discussion, in large groups or small, and to associate together for the common purposes discovered by discussion.

This chapter is devoted to the consideration of subjects of discussion among students ; and to their attendance of public meetings, caste meetings, and study circles. All this will disclose to what extent students are susceptible to political issues and how far are they active politically.

DISCUSSIONS

Under "discussions" are presented twenty-three subjects to students: nine general subjects: films, love-stories, love-affairs, sports, dacoities, kidnappings, religion, caste and education ; and fourteen political subjects: local problems, provincial issues, national matters, international affairs, democracy, communism, socialism, capitalism, dictatorship, Gandhism, Sarvodaya philosophy, party programmes, political leaders, and other. Ample choice is deliberately given to students to catch them unawares so that while they fill in the columns their political interests would automatically be revealed. Since, general subjects of discussions do not have any bearing on the political awareness among students, they were excluded from the elaborate treatment. Such exclusion, I hope, would not have adverse effect upon the results.

Tables 37 and 38 give the distribution of the political subjects of discussion according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 95.00% and of the 150 females, 97.33% discuss the general subjects (not shown in the table). Thus, it is explicit that almost all students discuss the subjects of "general" interest. Obviously, they are not the apostles of silence. A high percentage of females is the manifestation of their more talkativeness than that of males. Out of 761 males,

85.80% and of the 150 females, 64.66% deliberate political subjects. It is a matter of happiness that a large number of students not only peruse newspapers, periodicals, party newspapers and literature, and political literature but also hold disputations on political matters. One is led to generalise that discussion of political subjects appears to be a part of their habit. It may be said that they are putting to use all the knowledge obtained from reading of newspapers, periodicals, party-newspapers and literature, and political literature. They express and exchange their political views among themselves without fear and favour. This is indeed rewarding on their part, for it sharpens and enriches their intelligence, and dispels their ignorance about political matters. Consequently, they become clear in their mind about political affairs. It is needless to say that they are not passive spectators but active debaters of political matters. It is a thing of pride and pleasure that they exercise their right to speech and expression, and thereby assert their political articulation. A high percentage of males is indicative of its greater interest in political matters than that of females. In the end, it must be mentioned that the higher percentages of males and females discussing the "general" subjects than the percentages of males and females debating political matters show that political matters are not as pleasing as general subjects, or this may be imputed to the fact that discussion of "general" subjects does not involve much of intellectual exercise.

A detailed composition of the tables indicates the political subjects being deliberated by males and females. I have considered below the percentages of males and females discussing political matters in the descending order. Out of 653 males and of the 97 females, a highest percentage of males (61.24) and comparatively small percentage of females (42.27) discuss democracy. This is at once and once more reveals their interest in democracy. It is unequivocally clear that they not only read literature on democracy but also "digest" it by holding argumentations on democracy in their day-to-day life. Obviously, males have rated discussion of democracy higher than females. How plain it is that national matters engage the attention of 58.56% of males and 44.33% of females. This implies that they have the necessary knowledge to deliberate national problems. It is inferable that females are not interested in national issues to the extent to which males are. International issues interest 54.35% of males and 35.05% of females. It is a pleasant surprise that they are familiarised with affairs international and appear to be at home when they discuss them daily. It is evident that the range of their discussions transcends national frontiers and hug international horizons. It is plain that females are not as much in the know of international affairs as males. In a party democracy political leaders are the uncrowned maharajas who guide our destinies. They are the architects of national life. Parties prosper and perish with them. It is quite natural with students to bring in political leaders in their usual confabulations. It is observable that 50.22% of males and 52.58% of females discuss political leaders. Clearly, females have more interest in political leaders than males. It must be placed on record that this percentage of females is highest among other percent-

ages for other political subjects debated by them. This, I believe, is ascribable to their admiration for personality. In a party government, knowledge of party programmes is indispensable on the part of citizens. Discussions of party programmes always facilitates citizens to learn about party positions, and to crystallise their opinions about parties. Eventually, it helps them vote into power a party of their choice. It is heartening to note in this context that a section of the students (36.13% of males and 22.68% of females) holds disputations on party programmes. It is clear that females do not value as much party programmes as males. In a mixed economy, discussion of capitalism is inevitable. It haunts the minds of students and provides material for confabulation for 31% of males and 16.50% of females. It may broadly be said that capitalism does not seem to be much popular with students. It is plain that females do not find as much interest in it as males. It is a general impression that dictatorship appeals to students more than other systems of government, and it becomes a subject of hot discussion among them. It is debated only by 29.70% of males and 17.53% of females. It may be said that dictatorship does not have much of appeal to students, and this is more true of females than males. It may be said of females in this context that they do not seem to believe as much in discussion of dictatorship as perhaps in dictation. Winds of communism and socialism are blowing throughout the world. They have become a centre of interest and fermentation. Surprisingly, communism is discussed only by 26.18% of males and 8.25% of females : similarly socialism finds favour with 25.72% of males and 13.40% of females. It is observable that these two "isms" are not much popular among students. Evidently, they are not as much popular with females as with males. Females seem to be rather conservative in their thinking, and thereby in their talk. It is noticeable that 22.66% of males and 17.53% of females discuss local problems ; and 16.69% of males and 7.22% of females debate provincial matters. This means that the student community is alive to their immediate environment. But it is assertable that a large number of them do not take as much delight in local and provincial matters as in other matters. It may, therefore, be inferred that they do not suffer much from the cancer of localism and provincialism ; their outlook seems to be quite national and international. A glance at the above percentages shows that students discuss local problems more than provincial matters. At the same time, it is perceptible that females do not savour as much local and provincial affairs as males. It means males are more informed about local and provincial matters than females. It is a matter of great pride that India has offered Gandhism and Sarvodaya philosophy to the world. But it is deplorable that only 12.25% of males and 7.22% of females discuss Gandhism ; and similarly 14.24% of males and 17.53% of females talk about the Sarvodaya philosophy. Obviously, a large number of students do not have much of fascination for Gandhism and Sarvodaya philosophy. It is explicit that males are more informed about Gandhism than females ; and in regard to the Sarvodaya philosophy, it is *vice versa*. In

the end, it may be observed that a large number of students hold disputations on democracy, political leaders, national issues, and international matters. The percentages of males engaged in the political discussions are almost consistently higher than the percentages of females.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that discussions of students are not governed by faculty. A considerably large number of students from every faculty are debaters of political matters. It means students of every faculty are competent to discuss political affairs. All the same, it may be stated on a close examination of the tables that the highest percentages of male-talkers and female-debaters are from the post-graduate classes, while the lowest percentages of male-talkers and female-debaters are from the science faculty. It follows from this that students of the post-graduate classes seem to be more informed politically than students of other faculties; and students of the science faculty do not have as much interest in discussion of political matters as students of other faculties. It means they are less informed politically than others. Further, it is perceptible that the percentages of males of the arts, science and commerce faculties are notably higher than the percentages of females of these faculties; as against this, there is no difference between the percentages of males and females from the agriculture faculty and post-graduate classes.

Table 39 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 86.09% and of the 472 urban students, 78.81% deliberate political matters. A high percentage of rural students has more interest in discussing political affairs than urban students. It implies that rural students are more informed politically than urban students.

A castewise consideration of the sample shows that political discussions of students are not markedly governed by their caste because a large number of students of every caste from rural and urban areas are the active participants in the political discussions. Thus, it may be concluded that students of every caste, from rural and urban places are politically informed; and politics is no longer the monopoly of any caste. It is, further, observable that the percentages of students of every caste from rural places are almost consistently higher than the percentages of students of every caste from urban areas. It means students of every caste from rural areas are politically more informed than students of every caste from urban places. It is distinctly perceptible that the percentages of the Marathas from urban and rural places are higher than the percentages of the Brahmins and others from rural and urban areas. It implies that the Marathas savour political affairs more than the Brahmins and others; and thereby it is inferable that they are politically more informed than the latter. In the end, it must be mentioned that a Neo-Buddhist student reports that he does not discuss political affairs. His is a peculiar case of non-response.

ATTENDING MEETINGS

Political Meetings

Democracy and propaganda have developed side by side. Political parties carry on extensive campaigns of education or propaganda for the purpose of directing public opinion in favour of their interests. In addition to other forms of propaganda, meetings are held by parties in order to favourably influence public opinion. In all countries there are occasional meetings at the party headquarters, in halls and in the streets. They are held on the occasion of some special national or party crisis; when a new policy is being debated; or when one of the great men of the party pays a visit; when a special fillip is needed to party organisation; when a "rally" is required; or during an election when advertisement and the spectacle of activity are likely to arouse confidence and enthusiasm. Under "political meetings" are included all meetings held for the "faithful" of party and the general public.

Tables 40 and 41 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 84.10% and of the 150 females, 74.67% attend political meetings. How encouraging it is to note that a majority of students associates itself with political meetings organised by parties. It signifies that students are responsive to party politics, and parties, in their turn, command a sizable audience from them. Thus, it could be generalised that students not only relish reading of "newspapers" and "literature", discussions of political affairs but also make it a point to attend political meetings; where the party in power endeavours to expound its position; while parties in opposition, assailing it devastatingly propound their own stand. It is the clash of arguments and counter-arguments that naturally dispels doubts in the minds of students, and consequently, they go home clearer in mind and better apprised of the party positions. A comparatively low percentage of females attending political meetings may be taken as symbolic of the fact that they do not feel as much enthused to attend political meetings as males, or it may be imputed to the societal taboos that inhibit them from being present on such occasions. Nevertheless, the percentage of females attending political meetings should not be underrated but esteemed as a good augury. The post-independence era has been so favourable to them that some of them are increasingly occupying important political offices.

A detailed break-down of the tables displays comments of students upon the speeches of speakers. I have presented six topics of comments to students: oratory of speaker, his personality, his character, his views, programme of his party, and other. I have considered below the percentages of students commenting upon the speech of speaker in the descending order. It is quite human that man talks and talks more in the company of his friends. Ordinarily, man cannot resist expressing his reaction to what he perceives and hears. Students are not an exception to this rule. They are naturally articulate in the company and give full vent to their response to what they observe and listen. This is explicit

from the fact that 84.16% of males and 74.67% of females attending political meetings, comment upon the speeches of speakers. Thus, a large number of students on their way back home after attending political meetings do not seal their mouths but debate the speeches of speakers. This discloses their interest in active politics, and thereby indicates their competency to comment upon the speeches of speakers. However, it must be stated that females do not have as much interest in commenting upon the speeches of speakers as males.

Out of 640 male commentators, 67.66% and of the 112 females, 63.39% discuss the views of speakers. It is praiseworthy that a large number of students prize high the views of speakers. It implies that they have an open mind and are primarily motivated to attend public meetings in order to learn the views of speakers. This further indicates that they do not have sheep-mind but seem to be competent to critically choose in between the views of speakers. It can, therefore, be generalised that they cannot be influenced into accepting the "undiluted" or "whole" views of speakers. This would naturally crystallise their views too. It may be noted that females do not as much value the views of speakers as males. In a democratic nation, oratory is a powerful and sharp weapon which is employed unsparingly by all politicians and especially relentlessly by demagogues. Its magical appeal to the non-rational faculties of men invariably wins over the mass of voters and converts, to put it exaggeratedly, adversaries into supporters. Oratory hypnotises 53.59% of males and 71.43% of females. It is simple to understand that a large number of students admire oratory. It means oratory is a necessary qualification of leadership. But considered rationally, it is not laudable that a large number of students should fall prey to the rhetorics of speakers. Evidently, females admire oratory more than males. Party programme is like a looking-glass that reflects the likeness of a party. A cardinal object in holding political meetings is either to disseminate party programme, or to make known the party stance on burning issues, or to boost the morale of party workers. Being protagonists of their party, speakers would like to propagate religiously their party programmes. Party programmes become the theme of discussion with 38.59% of males and 15.18% of females. It is encouraging to note that students are not blind to party programmes but take interest in commenting upon them. It means a considerable number of students are conversant with party programmes, and thereby competent to comment upon them. It is obvious that females have less interest in such discussions than males. Though party ideology is important, it is the leaders who formulate it and translate it into action who are more important. Personality of leaders matters much in public life. There are 30.31% of males and 45.54% of females who are charmed by the personality of speakers. It is superfluous to mention that females have more admiration for personality of speakers than males. Basically character is a social matter and national character is a manifestation of the characters of citizens. Therefore, in public life the character of the leader is valued high. Only 19.38% of males and 11.61% of females comment upon character of speakers. It is explicit that a large number of students do not

bother about the character of speakers when it is valued almost above everything in our society. It is noticeable that females do not attach as much import to the character of speakers as males. In the end, it may be observed that males and females are unanimous in their high ratings of views and oratory of speakers. But a close examination of them shows that males hold views of speakers in highest esteem; while females have highest regard for the oratory of speakers. This clearly indicates their tastes.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that a high percentage of students of every faculty does attend political meetings and comment upon the speeches of speakers. It means that faculty has nothing to do with the attending of public meetings and discussion of speeches of speakers. A close observation of the percentages reveals that the percentages of males of the arts, science and commerce faculties are higher than the percentages of females from these faculties. It means males of these faculties attend political meetings and comment upon speeches of speakers more than females. Further, it is perceptible that the highest percentage of males (92.12) and females (100.00) hails from the post-graduate classes; while the lowest percentage of females (61.29) and males (75.89) is from the science faculty. This means students of the post-graduate classes are highly active politically and students of the science faculty do not have as much interest in political activities as students of other faculties.

Table 42 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 88.84% and of the 472 urban students, 76.71% attend political meetings and comment upon speeches of speakers. It is plain that rural students associate themselves more with active politics and thereby are more competent to comment upon speeches of speakers than urban students. This signifies that they are politically better informed than their counterparts in urban areas. It is clearly noticeable that the interest of urban students in active politics is on the wane.

A castewise consideration of the sample implies that a majority of students of every caste from urban and rural places attend political meetings and comment upon speeches of speakers. Thus, attendance of students at political meetings and their comments upon speeches of speakers are not governed markedly by their caste. It is inferable that a considerably large number of students of every caste from rural and urban places are politically active, and thereby competent to comment upon speeches of speakers. Politics is no longer the monopoly of any caste. It means political awakening is dawning upon every caste. This is indeed a welcome change that is noticeable in our caste-ridden society. This will, in the long run, be conducive to the healthy growth of our infant democracy. A close view of the sample reveals that the percentages of rural students of every caste are higher than the percentages of urban students of every caste. It signifies that rural students of every caste are more politically active and thereby competent to comment upon speeches of speakers than urban students of

every caste. It is, further, noticeable that the percentages of the rural and urban Marathas are higher than the percentages of rural and urban Brahmins and others. It means the Brahmins and others do not take as much interest in active politics and are not as much politically competent as the Marathas. In the end, it must be recorded that a Neo-Buddhist student reports that he does not attend political meetings and comment upon speeches of speakers. He seems to be politically neutral. His is a typical case of non-response.

STUDY CIRCLES

More recently parties try to catch students, and this is done, among other methods, by conducting study circles. It is at study circles that parties seriously teach their ideologies, and also strive to impress on students as to how the ideologies of other parties are preposterous. Thus study circles indoctrinate students by brainwashing their other political impressions. This essentially creates a class of fanatical bigots. Further, the faithful won over at study circles, though numerically meagre, are more permanent than what is attainable at the mass meetings where appeal is largely made to their passions, thereby eclipsing the play of reason. A consideration of all this will reveal how far students are politically involved and aligned.

Table 43 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 13.93% and of the 150 females, 3.33% attend study circles. As expected, the number of those attending study circles is not considerable. This may be attributed to the failure of parties to attract a large number of students. A low percentage of females indicates that they have least interest in the study circles; or it may be attributed to some social taboos that disable them from attending study circles; or they just abhor such serious activity.

A detailed composition of the table reveals attendance at study circles party-wise. I have considered below the percentages of males and females attending the study circles in the descending order. Out of 106 males and of the 5 females attending the study circles, a highest percentage of males (47.16%) and females (40.00%) attends study circles of the Congress party. This shows its top popularity among students. Obviously, it is not as much popular among females as among males. The missionary zeal of the Jan Sangh could attract 12.26% of males and 20.00% of females. It is evident that it finds favour more with females than with males. The P.S.P. is successful in gathering 9.43% of males and 20.00% of females. Explicitly, it is more popular among females than among males. The Peasants and Workers party enjoys the patronage of 8.49% of males only; it has no following among females. It must be noted with interest that in spite of untiring attempts at infiltration among students, the Communist party could not make a catch but a very meagre 7.55% of males and 20.00% of females (one female) attend its study circles. The Socialist party, Hindu Mahasabha, Republican party, Samiti and Lal Nishan Gat have so meagre a clientele among

males that any consideration of it would be worthless; further females have quarantined study circles of these parties. Study circles of the Swatantra party and the Muslim League have no attendance at all. In the end, it may be generalised broadly that the rightist party, the Jan Sangh, has the least following among males (12.26%) and females (20.00%). The centralist parties—the Congress party, P.S.P., and Socialist party—have the biggest adherents among males (58.47%) and females (60.00%). The leftist parties—Communist party, Lal Nishan Gat, Peasants and Workers party and Republican party—could claim 20.15% of males and 20% of females. Thus, the centralist parties are very much popular among students; the leftist parties fare slightly better; and the rightist parties fare very poorly.

A facultywise treatment of the sample indicates males and females attending study circles. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. A highest percentage of males (36.83%) of the post-graduate classes attends study circles. It is obvious that they take to intellectual activities more than males of other faculties. It means they are politically more informed than males of other faculties. This may be attributed to their comparatively high maturity in age, or to their awareness of the seriousness of such activities. There are 17.26% of males of the arts faculty who report that they attend study circles; while 12.82% of males of the commerce faculty go to study circles; as against this 9.09% of males of the science faculty patronise study circles. It is noteworthy that males of the law faculty who are in the age-group of males of the post-graduate classes have moderate interest in study circles as only one male (5.26%) reports that he attends study circles. It must be noted with interest that males of the agriculture faculty have not evinced any interest in study circles as nobody attends them. In respect of females, it is perceptible that out of 5 females attending study circles, 4 hail from the arts faculty and one belongs to the science faculty. Females of the commerce faculty, the agriculture faculty, and the post-graduate classes seem to have osurcised study circles. In conclusion, it may be observed that students of the post-graduate classes and of the arts faculty are politically better informed than students of other faculties.

Table 44 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 16.17% and of the 472 urban students, 8.47% attend study circles. It may be observed with great interest that rural students have more interest in attending study circles than urban students. It means they excel urban students far more in equipping themselves intellectually, and they are politically more informed than urban students. This, further, reveals that they have more interest in party politics than their counterparts in urban places.

A close examination of the table, further, shows students attending study circles partywise. I have considered below the percentages of students in the

descending order. Out of 71 rural students and of the 40 urban students attending study circles, a highest percentage of students (46.46% and 47.50% respectively) attends study circles of the Congress party. This at once reveals that the Congress party is the most popular party among rural as well as among urban students. However, it is noticeable that it is slightly more popular among urban students than among rural students. Obviously, study circles of the Peasants and Workers party are patronised by 12.67% of rural students only; it has no patronage of urban students. It means the Peasants and Workers party is popular only among rural students. There are 11.26% of rural students, and 2.50% (one student) of urban students who attend study circles of the Communist party. Explicitly, the Communist party is more popular among rural students than among urban students. It means it is directing its efforts to infiltrate the rural areas; or it may be said that urban students understand what communism is. Study circles of the Jan Sangh attracts 9.86% of rural students, and 17.50% of urban students. It is plain that the Jan Sangh is more popular among urban areas than among rural places. Study circles of the P.S.P. are attended by 5.63% of rural students, and 17.50% of urban students. It signifies the greater popularity of the P.S.P. among urban students than among rural students. Study circles of other parties are attended by so meagre a number of rural and urban students that nothing markedly could be said about them. Study circles of the Hindu Mahasabha, Swatantra party and Muslim League are not attended by any rural students; and study circles of the Socialist party, Republican party, Peasants and Workers party, Swatantra party, and Muslim League are not attended by any urban students. All this reveals the popularity of these parties in both rural and urban areas. In the end, it may be observed that the centralist parties—the Congress party, P.S.P. and Socialist party—are most popular among both rural areas (54.90%) and urban places (65.00%). They are, of course, more popular among urban areas than among rural places. The leftist parties—Communist party, Republican party, Peasants and Workers party and Lal Nishan Ghat—do not fare well as they have 28.14% of rural students, and 7.50% of urban students. Obviously, they are more popular among rural students than among urban students. The rightist parties—Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha—fare very poorly as they have 9.86% of rural students, and 2.0% of urban students. It means they are more popular among urban students than among rural students. Thus, the centralist and the rightist parties are more popular in urban areas, while the leftist parties are more popular in rural places.

.. A castewise treatment of the sample shows that caste does not markedly govern attendance of students at study circles, as students, though few in number, of every caste from rural and urban areas attend them. It means students of every caste from rural and urban places are politically active, and thereby are politically informed. But a close view of the table reveals that the Gujars etc. from rural and urban areas do not attend study circles of any party. It means they do not have any interest in party politics. A Neo-Buddhist student reports that he does not attend study circles of any party.

A large number of students of every caste from rural and urban places attend study circles of the Congress party. It means the Congress party is the only party very much popular in all castes. It is plain that out of 7 rural students attending study circles of the Jan Sangh, 6 students are Brahmins and one has not mentioned his caste. Similarly, out of 7 urban students attending study circles of the Jan Sangh, 6 students are Brahmins, while one is Backward and Scheduled castes! Explicitly, the Jan Sangh falls back upon the support of Brahmins only. Study circles of the Republican party are attended by only two Backward and Scheduled castes students from rural areas. Obviously, the Republican party lives on the support of the Backward and Scheduled castes students. Out of 9 rural students attending study circles of the Peasants and Workers party, 6 students are Marathas, one is Intermediate Hindu, one belongs to the Backward and Scheduled castes, and one is Christian. Thus, the Peasants and Workers party is popular only among the non-Brahmins. In the end, it is inferable that some castes have come to be identified with some parties. This certainly is a cancerous phenomenon that would, if not eliminated, debilitate our infant democracy.

DISCUSSIONS AT THE STUDY CIRCLES

It is quite pertinent to show what is prominently discussed at the study circles. Table 45 is devoted to subjects discussed at study circles according to sex (males). I have furnished fourteen subjects of discussion to students: party policy, policies of other parties, leaders, local and provincial problems, national matters, international issues, democracy, dictatorship, capitalism, socialism, communism, Gandhism, Sarvodaya philosophy, etc. I have considered below the percentages of males discussing various subjects in the descending order.

Out of 106 males attending study circles, a highest percentage (58.49%) of them reports that a party policy is debated. This reveals that the party running study circles strives to expound its policy, and to convince students of its own ideology and programme by which alone the lot of the people can be ameliorated. This may help the party to win over easily students from their allegiance to other parties. In a party democracy, discussions on democracy are inevitable for the simple reason that students ought to be impressed by its values in the face of the challenge by other systems of government. Democracy is like a round cap that fits any head. All dictators and demagogues profess to do everything in the larger interest of democracy. It is, therefore, necessary to retain clearly the image of democracy in the minds of those who attend study circles. There are 44.34% of males who report that democracy is discussed by them. It is quite natural that policies of other parties also are deliberated as is evident from the report of 40.57% of males. This helps make comparisons and show how fallacious and impracticable the policies of other parties could be. Thus, in the eyes of students, an attempt is made to belittle other parties. These

days, the wind of socialism is blowing irresistibly. Like democracy, socialism too is adopted almost by all as an article of faith. Hence, its discussion may be useful: 35.85% of males report that it is discussed in study circles. It is well known that leaders are the makers and destroyers of a party. Future of the party depends upon leaders who actively guide its destiny. The party perishes or prospers with leaders. Hence, the stewards of the party are reported to have been discussed by 26.42% of males. International affairs have come to influence national policies, and thereby party policies. Hence, international issues are reported to have been debated by 25.47% of males. In a free world, communism has become a menace, and leftists therein struggle to infiltrate among the masses. Naturally, it is disputed at study circles as is evident from the report of 22.64% of males. Every party has its stand on the national problems. Consequently, its discussion is unavoidable at study circles. 21.70% of males state that it is deliberated. There are 15.09% of males who say that the Sarvodaya philosophy is discussed at the study circles; while Gandhism becomes the subject of discussion at the study circles as is obvious from the report of 14.15% of males. It is indeed deplorable that these two philosophies are not properly valued by parties in our country. A discussion of capitalism is inevitable in view of the mixed economy in our country. It is reported to have been debated by 14.15% of males. Obviously, it is not held in high esteem by the parties. Local and provincial problems cannot be ignored totally. They do not have the gravity of national and international problems. However, their local or regional importance should not be neglected but they deserve some consideration: 12.26% of males report that these problems are discussed at study circles. Dictatorships as systems of government are always fascinating, and presently, their rise and fall engage the attention of all people. It is no wonder, therefore, that they are debated at the study circles as is evident from the report of 8.49% of males. In the end, it could be observed that party policy, policies of other parties, democracy, and socialism are discussed largely at the study circles.

REASONS FOR NOT ATTENDING STUDY CIRCLES

When a high percentage of males (83.84%) and females (96%) does not attend study circles, it is quite necessary to examine the reasons that have dissuaded them from attending. I have provided nine reasons to students: no liking, waste of time, fear of being branded as party man, fear of not getting government job in future, friends not attending, parties do not insist, away from home, party indoctrinates, and other.

Table 45A deals with the reasons according to sex. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of 638 males and of the 144 females not attending study circles, a highest percentage of males (49.05%) and females (47.22%) does not attend study circles because they are afraid of being indoctrinated politically by the political parties. It means these students want to keep away from study circles only to judge objectively

the party positions and political affairs. This is indeed heartening, for a large number of males and females do not require lessons in politics but are themselves competent to know political affairs. This is largely true of males. It must be noted with interest that 29.47% of males and 24.31% of females consider attendance at the study circles as waste of time. It means these students too do not need any political information, as they themselves seem to be well informed politically. A high percentage of males indicates less need for political information than females. There are 11.28% of males and 9.72% of females who complain that they do not go to study circles because the parties concerned do not insist on joining them. It means had these students been coaxed by the parties, they would have attended the study circles. I have not given any thought to other reasons, because the percentages for them are quite meagre. It may be observed in conclusion that excepting the reason "no liking", rest of the reasons are surmountable. Hence, it is inferable that all students would have attended study circles had the difficulties stated by them been overcome. Thus, the major difficulties in the way of attending the study circles by students are "party indoctrinates", "waste of time", and "parties do not insist".

CASTE MEETINGS

Even in modern times, "caste has (thus) become the centre of an individual's altruistic impulse and philanthropic activities. The existence of definite organisations has rallied round the caste feelings of consciousness of kind. In the desire to help one's caste-fellows, many forget the principles of social justice, and are led to do, consciously or otherwise, injustice to the members of others. Unfortunately many leaders in civic life are associated with the movement of amelioration of their respective castes." In view of this, it was felt necessary to learn how student community responds to caste appeals. All the same, I have confined myself to attendance of caste meetings by students. This will reveal how far they are caste-minded and to what extent caste is used for political ascent.

Tables 46 and 47 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 28.12% and of the 150 females, 12.67% attend caste meetings. These percentages are not so meagre as could be dismissed without any consideration. It is obvious that these males and females actively associate themselves with the activities of their respective castes. This may, I believe, colour their political behaviour and consequently prove to be detrimental to our democracy. Therefore, the cancer of casteism should be stamped out once for all for the healthy working of democracy. Obviously, males are more caste-minded than females.

A detailed composition of the tables elucidates the reasons that have prompted these students to attend caste meetings. I have offered ten reasons to students: amelioration of caste, to get the caste candidate elected, personal benefit, to get educational concessions and facilities, to gain political importance,

forced by caste members, compelled by friends, persuaded by elders, out of self-conviction, and other. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of 214 males, and of the 19 females attending caste meetings, a highest percentage of males (70.56%) and females (78.94%) joins caste meetings with a view to ameliorate the lot of their caste fellows. This immediately demonstrates their caste patriotism. This is very much in keeping with the above-mentioned remark of Dr. G. S. Ghurye. It is explicit that females feel more encouraged in doing ameliorative activities for their castes than males. It must be properly understood that 53.27% of males and 68.42% of females attend caste meetings out of self-conviction. This once more highlights the deep-seated loyalty. Evidently, females are more patriotic in respect of their caste than males. The lure of educational concessions and facilities entices 32.24% of males and 21.05% of females into attending caste meetings. It is unfortunate that some students have still to fall back upon the charity and munificence of their caste. It means the liberal educational concessions and facilities proffered by the Government of Maharashtra fail to meet the needs of all students. It may be said in exhortation that educational facilities and concessions presented by various caste organisations would unfailingly make students more caste-minded, and caste-patriotic. Consequently, they would owe their rise to their castes, and would not act against their conscience. Eventually, they will lose their destination like Abhimanyu in the labyrinth of vicious casteism. A comparatively low percentage of females may be attributed to the fact that they do not need as much educational facilities and concessions as males. It is noticeable that 21.02% of males and 10.52% of females report that the motive force behind their attending caste meetings is to get caste-candidates elected. How explicit it is that caste is prostituted for political glorification. The unholy alliance of politics and caste ought to be dissolved before it becomes malignantly formidable. Clearly, females are not involved in getting their caste-candidates elected to the same extent as males. It is perceptible that 14.95% of males and 5.26% of females associate with caste meetings with the ulterior motive of gaining political importance. Naturally, these students seem to be convinced that their association with the ameliorative activities of caste would bring them in future political power. It appears that they have witnessed somebody's political rise by the misuse of his caste. Thus, they also feel actuated to exploit their caste expeditiously to attain their political goals. Such tendency should be nipped in the bud before it becomes irresistible. Further, what is disgusting is that they indulge in political ambitions at this age, and that too with the thought of misusing caste-credulity. Females are not as much inclined to materialise their political dreams as males. It must be observed with great interest that a sense of personal benefit drives 7.94% of males to attend caste-gatherings. This exposes the selfishness of these males. It becomes plain that there is unbridled scope for an astute self-seeker to prosper on the caste-patriotism. There are 3.2% of males and 0.46% of males who protest that they have been constrained to attend caste meetings by their caste-fellows, and friends respectively. This is a glaring instance of how castes are undemocratically active. This should be

despised by all. It is revealing that elders persuade their wards to associate with caste activities as is obvious from a report of 3.2% of males and 10.52% of females. It is evident that casteism is deep-rooted in the minds of elders. Females fall prey more to persuasion of elders than males. In conclusion, it may be said that to make India safe for a secular democracy the pernicious alliance with caste should be fought out relentlessly on all fronts.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that students of every faculty attend caste meetings, excepting a female of the agriculture faculty and of the post-graduate classes. It obviously means that faculty does not influence the attendance at caste meetings. All the same, a close examination of the percentages considered in the descending order reveals that a highest percentage of males (35.29%) of the agriculture faculty attends caste meetings. A lowest percentage of males (22.92%) attending caste meetings is from the science faculty. It means males of the science faculty are not as much interested in the activities of their caste as males of other faculties. Attendance of the caste meetings by undergraduate males is not as much deplorable as that of the graduate students as 28.95% of males of the post-graduate classes, and 26.31% of males of the law faculty attend caste meetings. In respect of females it could be observed that females of the post-graduate classes, and of agriculture faculty do not attend caste meetings. Further, the percentages of males of every faculty are higher than the percentages of females of every faculty. It means males of every faculty are more caste-minded than females of every faculty. A highest percentage of females (20.00%) attending caste meetings is from the commerce faculty, as against this a lowest percentage of females (9.67%) hails from the science faculty. It is evident that females of the science faculty do not have as much interest in their caste as females of other faculties.

Table 48 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 31.89% and of the 472 urban students, 19.70% attend caste meetings. It is unequivocally clear that rural students are more caste-minded than urban students. The low percentage of urban students may be ascribed to their urban background. It is regrettable that caste-consciousness is not as much on the wane in rural areas as in urban places. Thus, considerable efforts would be required to demolish caste-patriotism among rural students.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that students of every caste from rural and urban places attend caste meetings. Indisputably, all castes from rural and urban areas indulge in the ameliorative activities in order to better the lot of their caste-fellows. All castes unfailingly hold caste meetings. So caste-patriotism is not the peculiarity of one caste. This is the most disdainful development which would, if not restrained in time, imperil our infant democracy in the long run. A close examination of the table shows that a Neo-Buddhist student reports that he does not attend caste-meetings. His is a pecu-

liar case of non-response. A highest percentage of students attending caste meetings belong to the Backward and Scheduled castes (64.29% from rural areas and 100% from urban places). It means these students are under the supreme influence of their castes. It must be mentioned here that caste-consciousness is considerably high among the Christians (60% from rural areas and 50% from urban places), and the Jains (40.62% from rural places and 38.23% from urban areas). The lowest percentage of students is from the Gujar etc (14.29% from rural areas) and the Marathas (15.76% from urban places).

Chapter Five

MEMBERSHIP, SYMPATHY AND PARTICIPATION INTRODUCTION

Political liberty is practically synonymous with democracy. It authorises citizens to share in the expression of the state's will and in the administration of its government. Democratic government means, in practice, a representative government, and a representative government is basically a party government. Party organisation is a natural and inevitable adjunct of government. Party has come to cover the field and affect the working of politics. Thus, the exercise of political liberty on the part of citizens is tantamount to participation in party affairs.

This chapter is planned to consider students' membership of parties, trade unions, and students' unions. An attempt is made to screen their sympathies for them, and also to reveal their participation in party activities. This will elucidate their political alignments, and disclose their involvement in politics.

MEMBERSHIP OF PARTY

I have not made any distinction between cadre parties, devotee parties, and mass parties. The word "party" is synonymous with mass party. Recruiting of members is a fundamental activity, from both the political and financial standpoints. Members are the very substance of a party, the stuff of its activity. Without members, a party would be like a school without pupils. Parties untiringly strive to enroll maximum number of citizens as members, and use every ounce of their energy and spark of intelligence to gain their sympathies, and persuade them to participate in their manifold activities.

Table 49 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex (males) and faculty. Active and passive membership is also treated in this table. Out of 761 males, 16.55%, and of the 150 females, 4% (not shown in the table) are members of parties. It is quite explicit that parties, in their bid to enroll maximum number of members, do not spare the student community. It is deplorable that they have unscrupulously infiltrated into student community in order to serve their political designs. It appears that students, at least some, fall prey to their winning and vigorous propaganda. It would not be presumptuous to say that parties should conscientiously keep their hands off students in the larger interest of our infant democracy. A low percentage of student members is not contrary to usual experience because it is a common observation that students are not members of parties in large numbers. A meagre percentage of female members is symbolic of their moderate interest in

party politics. It goes without saying that males have comparatively more interest in party politics than females.

A detailed break-down of the table shows membership of males partywise I have considered below the percentages of the members in the descending order. Out of the 126 males and of the 6 female members (not shown in the table), the high percentage of males (50%) and females (33.33%) is member of the Congress party. This at once parades how the Congress party is very popular among students. It would not be absurd to say that it is only the Congress party that commands a sizable backing of students. Evidently, it is not as much popular among females as among males. Next to the Congress party, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has 13.49% of the male members, and 16.66% of the female members on its roll. It is an indisputable proof that student community is not insensitive to burning problems of the day. It is alive to political happenings. Obviously, it is not a passive spectator but an active participant in current affairs. It may be noted that the Samiti has succeeded more in its appeal to females than to males. The Peasants and Workers party rallies round its banner 11.90% of the male members. It is apparent that this party does not seem to enjoy the confidence of females, as not a single female reports that she is its member. It is interesting to note that the P.S.P. lives more on the support of females than that of males. It has 3.17% of the male members and 33.33% of the female members. It is a surprise that the Socialist party does not have any male member. All the same, it is obliged by 16.66% of the female members. It is superfluous to point out that the Socialist party has a 'fair' support only. It may be said that the socialism of the P.S.P. and the Socialist party does not seem to have a strong appeal to students. The Jan Sangh is patronised by 6.34% of the male members only. It has no female member. The Republican party of India has 5.55% of the male members but has no female member. It is a revelation that the Napoleonic efforts of the Communist party could net only 3.17% of the male members. It has no female member. The Swatantra party is favoured by 2.38% of the male members. It has no female member. The Lal Nishan Gat fares miserably as it has 0.79% of the male members. On the whole, non-response to this question is almost negligible because only 1.58% of the male members have not specified any party. In the end, it may be observed that it is only the Congress party that is very popular among both males and females. The Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Muslim League are devoid of the patronage of any males; while the Communist party, the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, the Lal Nishan Gat, and the Muslim League are ostracised by females. This unequivocally discloses the position of these parties among both males and females. From the above analysis of partywise membership, it is broadly inferable that the centralist parties: the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the Socialist party, have the highest percentage of members: 53.17% of the male members and 82.32% of the female members. The leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Lal Nishan Gat, and the Peasants and Workers party, have 21.41% of the male members only. The rightist parties:

the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra party, have 8.72% of the male members only on their rolls. Thus, it is the centralist parties which are most popular among both males and females. All the same, it may be pointed out that they are more popular among females. Both the leftist and rightist parties appear to have been discredited by females. It would not be out of place if it is commented that there is not much of a danger from the rightist parties to our infant democracy as from the leftist parties.

MEMBERSHIP: ACTIVE & PASSIVE

Only in mass parties there is any formal machinery of enrolment, including the signing of an undertaking and the payment of a subscription. In fact, two kinds of enrolment can be distinguished: open and restricted. I have not treated them as they do not have relevance to our purpose. Within parties four concentric circles of participation exist: electors, supporters, 'caucus-men', and militants. Relations between these circles are not deliberately examined. However, I have treated militants and supporters separately. Militants are active members: they constitute the nucleus of each party's basic groups, on which its fundamental activities depend. The other members who do no more than provide a name for the register and a little money for the chest, are passive members.

Out of the 126 male members, 26.19% and 73.81% and of the 6 female members, 16.66% and 83.34% are active and passive members respectively. It is needless to mention that the percentage of active members is lower than the percentage of passive members. Within the branch, for example, there is always to be found a small circle of members, markedly different from the mass, who regularly attend meetings, share in the spreading of the party's slogans, help to organise its propaganda, and prepare its electoral campaigns. It should be recorded that the percentage of active male members (26.19%) is higher than the percentage of active female members (16.66%). It clearly means that males have more interest in active politics than females. It is perceptible that the P.S.P., the Socialist party, and the Communist party do not have active male members. In the remaining parties, the number of passive members is consistently larger than the number of active members. The Congress party has the largest number of active male members (19). Out of 6 female members, 5 are passive members and one who is an active member belongs to the Congress party.

A facultywise consideration of sample shows that the highest percentage of the male members (28.95%) is from the post-graduate classes. It convincingly means that males of the post-graduate classes have more interest in party politics than their counterparts in other faculties. It is indeed a revelation that those prosecuting higher studies relish party politics; hence, the charge that educated and especially highly educated people do not take to politics seems to be empty. It is noteworthy that males of the law faculty (21.05% of members) evince less interest in party politics than males of the post-graduate classes and of the arts faculty (22.30% of the male members). The commerce and agriculture faculties have 17.94% and 17.64% of the male members respectively. The lowest per-

centage of the male members is from the science faculty (7.11%). It means males of the science faculty have least interest in party politics. This may, I believe, be attributed to their being primarily career-minded. It is apparent that out of the 6 female members (not shown in table), 5 belong to the arts faculty, and one is from the commerce faculty. It goes without saying that females of the arts faculty have more interest in party politics than females of other faculties. It is plain that females of the science and agriculture faculties and of the post-graduate classes are not members of any party. It is, therefore, inferable that they do not seem to have interest in party politics.

Table 50 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 18.45% and of the 472 urban students, 10.38% are members of parties. How clear it is that rural students evince more interest in party politics than urban students. This is indeed astounding because cities are supposed to be the centres of party activities. They appear to have ceased to stimulate students to participate in party politics. It may be said that party politics has changed the venue of its activities. Rural areas seem to have become the target of party attention. A further examination of the table shows that the percentage of the active members (30.60%) from urban places is higher than the percentage of the active members (23.37%) from rural areas. Naturally, the percentage of the passive members (76.26%) from rural areas is higher than the percentage of the passive members (69.36%) from urban places. It may be observed that though some students are members of parties, a large number of them from both rural and urban places cannot afford to be active members; they remain content with being passive members only.

A castewise treatment of the table demonstrates that some students of every caste from rural and urban places are members of parties. Thus, membership of parties is not markedly governed by the caste of students. It means party politics is a grazing ground for all. It is not the monopoly of any one caste. All the same, it must be placed on record that a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas, and the Gujars, etc. from urban places report that they are not members of any party. The case of a Neo-Buddhist student is peculiar one for he appears to be politically non-aligned. The Gujars, etc. from urban places do not seem to have interest in party politics. It is observable that the percentages of rural members from every caste are almost consistently higher than the percentages of urban members from every caste. It could be said that students of every caste from rural areas are more interested in party politics than students of every caste from urban places. It is unequivocally plain that the lowest percentage of members is from the Brahmins: 7.04% of the rural members and 6.89% of the urban members. It may be generalised that Brahmins and others appear to have least interest in party politics; or it may be said that they are gradually retreating from party politics; and "the power

vacuum" is being filled in by the non-Brahmins and others as is obvious from their comparatively higher percentages. Further, it may be pointed out in particular that the percentages of Brahmins and others from both rural and urban places are lower than the percentages of Marathas from both rural (20.89%) and urban (11.51%) areas. It evidently means that the Marathas have more interest in party politics than the Brahmins. In the end, it is encouraging to observe that the percentages of members of the minority communities from both rural and urban areas: Jains, Lingayats, Backward and Scheduled Castes, Muslims, and Christians are fairly high. It is a matter of pride that they do not suffer from any inhibitions but dauntlessly associate themselves with party politics. Indian democracy deserves warm compliments for this phenomenal development.

Table 51 deals with partywise membership of students from both rural and urban places. I have considered below the percentages of students in the descending order. Out of the 81 rural members, and of the 49 urban members the highest percentage of members—51.87% of the rural members and 46.94% of the urban members—belongs to the Congress party. This shows the top popularity of the Congress party among students. However, it must be mentioned that it is not as much popular among urban students as among rural students. It means policies of the Congress party are better appreciated by rural students than by urban students. The Peasants and Workers party attracts more members from rural areas (16.05%) than from urban places (4.08%). It may be concluded that this party is not popular among urban students to the extent to which it is among rural students. It may, further, be inferred that this party seems to appeal only to peasants and workers from rural areas. It obviously means, it lives largely on the support of rural places. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has 9.88% of rural members and 20.41% of urban students on its roll. Evidently, the Samiti has received response from both rural and urban students. But it is apparently not as much popular among rural students as among urban students. It may be said that urban students are more appreciative of the stance of the Samiti than rural students; or activities of the Samiti seem to have been confined mainly to urban places. The Republican Party of India seems to live principally on the support of rural students as it has 8.64% of the rural members only. It appears that this party does not enjoy the confidence of its urban followers. It is worth noting that the Jan Sangh has more members from rural areas (7.41%) than from urban places (4.08%). Evidently it is more popular among rural students than among urban students. The P.S.P. is obliged by 1.23% of the rural members and 8.16% of the urban members. It obviously means that it is more popular among urban students than among rural students. As is observable, the Communist Party appeals more to urban dwellers than to rural people. This is borne out from the membership it has from rural (1.23%) and urban (6.12%) places. The Swatantra party has 1.23% of the rural members and 4.08% of the urban members. Clearly, it is more popular among urban areas than among rural places. It is interesting to notice that the Socialist party has 4.08% of the urban members only. It means it is not in the good books of rural members.

The Lal Nishan Gat has 1.23% of the rural members only, in spite of the fact that its activities are largely restricted to urban places. The Hindu Mahasabha does not have any member from rural as well as urban places. In the overall context, it may be observed that the centralist parties : the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the Socialist party, have the highest percentage of members from both rural (53.10%) and urban (59.18%) places. This at once indicates their top-most popularity among students. However, they are more popular among urban students than among rural students. The leftist parties : the Communist party, the Lal Nishan Gat, the Peasants and Workers party and the Republican party of India have been patronised by 27.15% of the rural members and 10.20% of the urban members. How convincing it is that they are more popular among rural students than among urban students ! It may be said that the leftist parties are trying to turn rural areas into another breeding ground. The rightist parties : the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Swatantra party and the Muslim League have attracted 8.64% of the rural members and 8.16% of the urban members. It is apparent that they are almost as much popular among rural students as among urban students. On the whole, their performance is miserable in both rural as well as urban areas

REASONS FOR MEMBERSHIP

It would be instructive to study the reasons that have prompted 16.55% of males and 4% of females to enrol themselves as party members. In all, I have offered nine reasons to students : personal benefit, suggested by elders, persuaded by friends, forced by party, attracted by party programme, to get job in future, influenced by the personality of the leaders in party, social work, and other. It may be mentioned that the reasons for active and passive membership are not considered separately, and the reasons advanced by the male and female members are not shown in the table.

Out of the 126 male members and of the 6 female members the highest percentage of the males (63.71%) and the females (50%) has become members because of the 'party programme'. This immediately demonstrates that the majority of students value party programme more than anything else. It means the first and foremost factor that weighs upon the minds of students is party programme. It is indeed commendable that the large number of students do bother about party programmes before registering themselves as members. This, further, indicates that the majority of students are in the know of party programmes. Plainly, females are not as much motivated by the consideration of party programme as males. It is interesting and instructive to place on the record that 54.84% of the male and 33.33% of the female members have been party members in order to do 'social work'. These students have identified social work with party work, and seem to be under the impression that by associating themselves with parties, they could be more useful to society. It may be inferred that party activities have come to occupy the whole of our life, as social work and party affairs are made inseparable by them. However, this fusion should be deprecated,

and the unholy alliance of social work and party activities should be divorced in the larger interest of society. Obviously, females do not believe as much in social work as males. It is clearly perceptible that 23.38% of the male and 16.66% of the female members have registered themselves as members on account of the 'influence of the personality of leaders'. This reveals that the personality of leaders matters considerably in politics. However, it may be said that joining party sheer by the influence of the personality of leaders is not at all encouraging, and, in the long run, this would affect the health and growth of democracy. It is a pleasant surprise that the personality of leaders hypnotizes more males than females. The primary consideration of 7.25% of the male members in joining parties is the 'personal benefit'. It is inferable that the association with party brings in some personal gains. Thus, it is deducible that party politics is turned into a lucrative profession by some. On whatever scale it is practised, it is undoubtedly despicable. Further, it would not create devoted party workers but the commercial army of self-seekers which would eventually imperil democracy. It is striking to note in this context that 4.83% of the male members report that they have enrolled themselves as party members in order to 'secure service in future'. Obviously, these students have the impression that their association with parties will enable them to get jobs in future. If this is the case, it should be denounced, otherwise it would demoralise and debilitate the public administration in the long run, and people would come to distrust Public Service Commissions. At the same time, it must be regretted that parties stoop very low to attract members in this fashion. 4.03% of the male members state that they are 'persuaded into becoming party members by their friends'. It means politically indoctrinated students can prevail on their friends, and eventually help raise the membership of their party, or it may be remarked that the docility of some students can be exploited by some politic friends. It is very much disgusting that 3.22% of the male members are 'forced to join parties'. This is another instance of how parties could unscrupulously stoop to 'conquer' members. This anti-democratic practice should be stamped out once for all. It is worth noting that 2.41% of the male members confess that they have become 'party members' 'at the suggestion of their elders' who seem to be politically aligned and awake, and, therefore, desire that their wards too should follow their political creed! Thus, in case of some students, politics begins at home.

REASONS FOR NON-MEMBERSHIP

It would be very much in the fitness of things to investigate the reasons that have dissuaded 83.43% of males and 96.00% of females from registering themselves as party members. I have presented eleven reasons to students: lack of time, elders not permitting, friends not members, dislike for party regimentation, minor, fear of being branded as party man, fear of not getting government service, no attempts on the part of parties to make members, belief in non-party politics, disbelief in democracy, and other.

Table 52 gives the distribution of the reasons for non-membership according to sex, I have treated below the percentages of males and females in the des-

cending order. Out of the 637 male non-members, and of the 144 female non-members the highest percentage of the males (42.54%) and the females (57.64%) has refused to become party members because they 'dislike party regimentation'. It clearly means that they refuse to give up their personal independence. It is a matter of pride and pleasure that they highly prize their individuality and therefore refuse to enter the ranks of a party. Further, it must be placed on record that they are aware of regimentation in a party. It is a strongly held view among educated people that party regimentation is detrimental to individuality. There may, however, be some who being intoxicated, as it were with the community spirit, throw themselves body and soul into collective action with a frenzied abandonment of individuality, which itself is an evidence of both a marked degree of mental instability and a certain desire for moral masochism. It is interesting to observe that females value their individuality more than males. It is worth noting that 34.22% of the male and 31.25% of the female non-members state that they are not members because of 'lack of time'. They seem to be conscientious students, as entering the ranks of party would prevent them from dedicating to their studies. This certainly does not mean that they do not believe in party politics. I should say that they desire to remain outside the real party community as they may consider their 'profession' incompatible with any over-rigorous commitment. Males are more particular about this than females. 29.91% of the male and 22.22% of the female non-members express their regret that they are not party members because of their minority. It obviously means that in the heart of hearts there is a desire to become party members on the part of these students. However, it must be said that what has actually come in their way of enrolling as party members is essentially a lack of general knowledge because minority is not considered scrupulously as a barrier to enter the ranks of party. This is more true of males than females. There are 11.30% of the male and 4.17% of the female non-members who believe in non-party politics. Apparently, they have come to distrust party politics; hence they switch over to partyless politics. It is inferable that the present party politics has nauseated these students. Therefore, they have unequivocally expressed their no-confidence in party politics; hence they have turned their back on it. Males have more such experience than females. 8% of the male and 11.80% of the female non-members are 'not permitted by their elders' to become party members. Naturally, these elders may be considered politically neutral, or it may be that they have had some unpleasant experience of party politics; therefore, they do not suffer their wards to join a party. It is quite natural that the percentage of female non-members is higher than that of male non-members because females are always imposed more societal taboos than males. Political immaturity becomes crystal clear when 6.12% of the male and 10.42% of the female non-members report irresponsibly that they are not members because their 'friends are not members'. By the by, it is worth commenting that friendship does influence the political behaviour of some to some extent. This is more true of females than males. It appears to be the experience of 6.12% of the male and 0.61% of the female non-members

that the membership of party causes harm and hardship ; hence they do not register as party members "for fear of being branded as party man". This is indeed deplorable that the association with certain party should become a handicap, and a cause for fright. On the other hand, it must be stated confidently that the Indian Constitution authorises citizens not only to constitute associations but also to associate with them. Males are more afraid of being branded as party men than females. It is curious that 4.08% of the male and 0.69% of the female non-members accuse parties of their failure to enrol them as party members. It distinctly means that these males and females would have registered themselves as party members had the parties made serious attempts. Apparently, they believe in party polities but appear to be conceited as they long for being solicited by parties. Males suffer more from this complex than females. There are 3.45% of the male and 0.69% of the female non-members who are indisputably career-minded as they state that ' party membership would come in their way of getting public service in future '. This is an illustration of how some students are particular to get into civil service. It is deducible that they are not against party politics but they keep aloof from it in order that their chances to get into public office should not be marred. As expected, females are not as much career-minded as males. 2.66% of the male and 2.78% of the female non-members have expressed their " disbelief in democracy " ; therefore, they refuse to be party members Democratically, these students should be inculcated in the values of democracy and especially of party democracy in comparison with other systems of government. There is no marked difference between the percentages of male non-members and female non-members. It may be observed in the end that the large number of males and females are not members because of " lack of time ", " dislike for party regimentation ", and " minority ". Further, in the overall context, one is led to generalise that the difficulties stated by the non-members are not insurmountable ; therefore, it would not be incongruous to maintain that had the difficulties mentioned above by the non-members been removed, they would have entered the ranks of party. Thus, the students are not opposed to party membership in principle.

SYMPATHY FOR PARTY

Citizens may or may not be members of a party but they may have sympathy for a certain party. The sympathisers are something more than electors and something less than members. Like electors, they give the party their votes, but they do not limit themselves to that alone. They are in agreement with the party; they show their political preferences. However, their relationship with the party has not been consecrated by the official and formal bonds of a signed undertaking and a regular subscription. It was considered very much pertinent to tap the political sympathies of students in order to discover whether they are politically neutral or alert. Further, this would also spotlight their political inclinations.

Tables 53 and 54 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of the 761 males, 81.47% and of the 150 females, 66.03% have

sympathies for parties. It is evident that the majority of students are neither politically indifferent, nor neutral, but quite alive. It is convincing to maintain that they are conversant with party ideologies and programmes; otherwise they would not have been in a position to indicate their sympathies for parties. Obviously, they have the necessary political know-how to extend their sympathies to political parties. A comparatively lower percentage of females is demonstrative of their moderate interest in party affairs.

A close examination of the tables reveals that out of the 620 male sympathisers, 29.68% and 70.32%; and of the 99 female sympathisers, 61.62% and 38.38%, have sympathies for one party and for more than one party respectively. Sympathy for more than one party is no surprise at all because in our country there are more than one rightist, centralist, and leftist party; hence sympathies of these students for more than one party should not be viewed as symbolic of their political immaturity and ignorance. All the same, it would not be presumptuous to hope that sympathies of 70.32% of the male and 38.38% of the female sympathisers would be definitised before long for one party. It is evident that sympathies of 29.68% of the male and 61.62% of the female sympathisers have been positively crystallised for one party. Being resolutely aligned with and loyal to one party, these males and females do not entertain preferential considerations for more than one party. They have come to like and love one and only one party. It is striking that sympathies of females are more definitised for one party than sympathies of males. This may be attributed to their unflinching faithfulness to "one party".

A detailed break-up of the tables shows sympathies of males and females for one party. I have considered below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 184 male and of the 61 female sympathisers for one party the highest percentage of the males (51.63%) and the females (52.45%) has sympathy for the Congress party. This at once and indubitably discloses the top-most popularity of the Congress party among students. The socialism of the Congress party seems to have a strong appeal to student community. It is plain that it is slightly more popular among females than among males. It may be noted with interest that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti enjoys sympathies of 11.95% of the male and 24.58% of the female sympathisers. This signifies how the student community is alive to burning issues. It is needless to mention that the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement is more appreciated and responded to by females than by males. The P.S.P. attracts the sympathies of 8.15% of the male and 1.64% of the female sympathisers. Evidently, the P.S.P. is more popular among males than among females. The Communist party has sympathies of 5.98% of the male and 3.28% of the female sympathisers. It is astonishing that this party has both meagre number of members and sympathisers, considering its dynamic appeal to youth. Apparently, it is more liked by males than by females. The Peasants and Workers party could attract 5.98% of the males and 8.20% of the female sympathisers. It is obvious that the Peasants and Workers party

enjoys sympathies of females more than that of males. All the same, it may be said, that the Peasants and Workers party gets only the sympathies of females, but not their membership. There are 5.43% of the male and 3.28% of the female sympathisers who extend their sympathies to the Jan Sangh. Evidently, it is preferred more by males than by females. It would not be out of place if it is disclosed that not a single female has entered the ranks of the Jan Sangh. The Socialist party attracts the sympathies of 4.35% of the male and 3.28% of the female sympathisers. It should be a matter of pleasure for the Socialist party that if it has no male member, it has at least, male sympathisers. Thus, in matters of sympathies, the Socialist party wins the confidence of males more than that of females. The Swatantra party attracts sympathies of 1.63% of the male sympathisers only. It is convincing that this party has miserably failed in its appeal to females for none of them has sympathies for it. It is distinctly noticeable that the Republican party of India has 1.08% of the male sympathisers only. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Lal Nishan Gat have 0.54% of the only male sympathisers each; while the Hindu Mahasabha has 3.28% of the female sympathisers. The Lal Nishan Gat has none. It is quite conspicuous that the Muslim League does not have sympathies of either males or females. In the overall context, it is discernible that number of the male sympathisers for one party broadly corresponds to the number of party members. The centralist parties—the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the S.P.—have sympathies of the highest percentage of the male (64.13%) and the female (57.37%) sympathisers. The leftist parties: the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, and the Lal Nishan Gat enjoy sympathies of 13.58% of the male and 11.48% of the female sympathisers. The rightist parties—the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party—get sympathies of 7.60% of the male and 6.56% of the female sympathisers. It is superfluous to point out that only the centralist parties are popular among the majority of students. It is evident that even in the matter of sympathies both the rightist and the leftist parties fare badly, and especially the rightist parties. The consistently lower percentages of females demonstrate that they are not as much sympathetic towards party politics as males. It may be observed in the end that the rightist and the leftist parties do not pose a danger to Indian democracy, at least presently.

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the post-graduate classes (98.68%). How clear it is that the males of the post-graduate classes have more interest in party affairs than their counterparts in other faculties! It is gratifying that those prosecuting higher studies are politically alive and alert. Next to the post-graduate classes the males of the law faculty (84.16%) have sympathies for parties. It is interesting to record that the males of the law faculty have less interest in party affairs than the males of the post-graduate classes. The males of the arts faculty (82.87%), and the commerce faculty (82.69%) seem almost unanimous in their sympathies for parties. The percentage of the male sympathisers from the science faculty is 77.85%. It shows their comparatively moderate interest in party poli-

tics. The lowest percentage of the male sympathisers (76.44%) is from the agriculture faculty. This obviously indicates their comparatively less interest in party affairs but it may be remarked that their moderate interest in party politics may be attributed to their age ; after all they are the students of the First Year B.Sc. Agriculture.

In respect of females, it is explicit that the percentages of the female sympathisers from the arts and science faculties and the post-graduate classes are lower than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties ; while the percentages of the female sympathisers of the commerce and agriculture faculties are higher than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties but the number of the females in these faculties is so meagre that their percentages should not be compared with those of the males of these faculties. Therefore, it may be observed that males of every faculty have more sympathies for parties than females of every faculty. It follows from this that males from every faculty are politically more alert and alive than females of every faculty. It is noticeable that the percentage of the female sympathisers (75%) from the post-graduate classes is higher than the percentages of the female sympathisers from the arts (66.97%) and the science (54.91%) faculties. It is needless to mention that cent per cent of the females of the commerce and agriculture faculties have sympathies for parties. The lowest percentage of the female sympathisers from the science faculty may be ascribed to their moderate interest in party politics. In the end, two observations can be made: first, the Congress party alone gets sympathies of almost largest number of males and females from every faculty, and, secondly, sympathies for parties are not markedly governed by faculty as is obvious from the considerably high percentages of the sympathisers from every faculty.

Tables 55 and 56 give the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 85.20% and of the 472 urban students, 73.10% have sympathies for parties. How explicit it is that the majority of rural and urban students do extend their sympathies to parties ! It obviously means that they are in the know of party positions ; otherwise, they would not have been in a position to express their sympathies for parties. Secondly, it may be said that they are quite alive to party politics. The higher percentage of rural students may be attributed to their political interest and knowledge. This is indeed startling that even in respect of sympathies, the percentage of rural students is higher than that of urban students. One is, therefore, driven to infer that the political interest of urban students is gradually on the wane ; while that of rural students is on the increase. This phenomenon may largely explain the transfer of political scene from urban places to rural areas.

A close scrutiny of the tables discloses that out of the 374 rural sympathisers, 27.27% and 72.73% ; and of the 345 urban sympathisers, 41.45% and 58.55%

have sympathies for one party, and for more than one party respectively. It is seen that sympathies of 27.27% of the rural sympathisers, and 41.45% of the urban sympathisers have been decidedly definitised for one party. It means these students owe allegiance to one party, and they do not have preferential considerations for more than one party. All the same, it must be mentioned that this decisiveness is to be found more among urban students than among rural students.

A detailed break-down of the tables reveals sympathies of rural and urban students for one party. I have treated below the percentages of the rural and the urban sympathisers in the descending order. Out of the 102 rural and of the 143 urban sympathisers for one party the highest percentage of the rural (57.84%) and the urban (47.55%) sympathisers have sympathies for the Congress party. This instantly parades how the Congress party alone is at the pinnacle of its popularity among both rural as well as urban students. However, it may be placed on record that the Congress party is more popular among rural students than among urban students. It is undoubtedly instructive to know that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti attracts sympathies of urban students (20.28%) more than that of rural students (7.84%). Thus, it may be inferred that the demand of the Samiti could not command sympathies of rural areas to the extent of sympathies of urban places; or it may be remarked that the stand of the Samiti is not as much understood and appreciated by rural places as by urban areas. In any case it may be generalised that rural areas are not totally indifferent towards the burning issues of the day. The Peasants and Workers party attracts sympathies of more rural students (8.82%) than urban students (4.89%). This explicitly means that its appeal is better felt by rural students than by urban students; it may be said that the activities of the party seem to be primarily confined to rural areas. The P.S.P. gets sympathies of 7.84% of the rural sympathisers and 5.59% of the urban sympathisers. Thus, it enjoys the confidence of rural students more than that of urban students. Further, it may be inferred that this party appears to have been striving to popularise its position among rural areas. The Socialist party secures sympathies of 4.90% of the rural sympathisers and 3.49% of the urban sympathisers. It is slightly more popular among rural areas than among urban places. It is worth noticing that the Communist party attracts sympathies of urban students (6.99%) more than that of rural students (2.94%). In the first place, it may be commented that, on the whole, the Communist party, in spite of its herculean efforts at infiltrating into students, gets sympathies of a few of them. Secondly, its activities seem to be largely restricted to urban places; or it may be that its position is not as much appreciated by rural students as by urban students. In this context, it would be worthwhile to expose the position of the Lal Nishan Gat which fares miserably. It has only sympathies of 0.98% of the rural sympathisers. Thus, it may be maintained that it fails to win sympathies of urban students. Truly speaking, it has almost been ostracised by both rural and urban students. The Jan Sangh is obliged by 1.96% of the rural sympathisers and 6.99% of the

urban sympathisers. It is plain that this party is more popular among urban places than among rural areas. The Hindu Mahasabha has sympathies of 0.98% of the rural sympathisers and 1.39% of the urban sympathisers. Obviously, this party is almost doomed in both rural and urban places. It is a revelation that the Republican party of India gets sympathies of rural students only (2.94%). It is intriguing as to what has dissuaded urban dwellers from even extending their sympathies for this party. The Swatantra party lives on the sympathies of urban students only (1.39%). It has no sympathisers from rural areas. Thus, this party appears to have failed in its appeal to rural students. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that the centralist parties—the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the Socialist party—are most popular among both rural and urban places. However, it may be mentioned that they are more popular among rural areas (70.58% of the sympathisers) than among urban areas (56.63% of the sympathisers). The rightist and the leftist parties have meagre percentages of the sympathisers from both rural as well as urban places. The rightist parties—the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh—are less popular among rural students (2.94% of the sympathisers) than the leftist parties—the Communist party, the Lal Nishan Gat, the Peasants and Workers party and the Republican party of India (15.68% of the rural sympathisers); while the rightist parties—the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra party—are more popular among urban students (11.75% of the sympathisers) than the leftist parties—the Communist party and the Peasants and Workers party (4.89% of the sympathisers).

A castewise treatment of the tables shows that the high percentage of rural and urban students of every caste has sympathies for parties. It means sympathies of students are not governed by caste. It follows from this that all castes are politically alive and alert as they indicate their sympathies for parties. It is superfluous to mention that party politics is no longer the exclusive preserve of one caste. It has become a grazing ground for one and all castes. A glance at the tables conveys that the percentages of rural students of every caste are almost higher than the percentages of urban students of every caste. It means all castes in rural areas are politically more alive and alert than their counterparts in urban places. By the by it is worth mentioning that the percentages of the Backward and Scheduled Castes from rural (90.48%) and urban (100%) places are highest. This at once discovers the political awakening among these castes. Further, it is a wonder that a Neo-Buddhist student who is a case of non-response through and through, for the first time, departs from his political neutrality and expresses his sympathies for the Republican party of India. The comparatively lower percentages of the rural and urban sympathisers are from the Christians (80%) and the Muslims (58.33%) respectively. A close look at the tables demonstrates that only the Congress party transcends the caste barriers except those of the Backward and Scheduled castes, and a Neo-Buddhist. It is intriguing that these castes ostracise the Congress party. Further, it is seen that some parties get sympathies of particular caste only. Therefore, they may be

branded as communal parties without any exaggeration and prejudice. The Jan Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha get sympathies of the Brahmins only; while the Republican party of India is obliged by a Neo-Buddhist and the Backward and Scheduled castes; and the Peasants and Workers party enjoys sympathies of the non-Brahmins only. Obviously, these parties have come to be identified with definite castes, hence they should be banished from our public life to make India safe for a healthy democracy. The unholy alliance of caste with politics is deprecatory, even cancerous. Therefore, we should destroy once for all this illicit relation of caste with politics with all the might we command; otherwise our infant democracy will be devoured by casteism and communalism.

PARTICIPATION IN PARTY ACTIVITIES

Victory is the first law of politics, and to this end all other laws are subordinated. The party organisation operates incessantly, partly because victory in parliamentary elections is otherwise impossible but also because in the modern state there are many local elective offices to fill. So the organisation, the machine, the caucus, the workers are always on the watch for movements of their opponents, and for the opportunity to "swing" over blocks of votes. It is deliberately proposed to study participation of students in party activities in order to learn positively not only their involvement but also their political affiliations. It will, further, reveal to what extent members, non-members, and sympathisers take part in party activities.

Tables 57 and 58 deal with participation in party activities according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 47.69% and of the 150 females, 17.33% participate in the activities of the parties. How crystal clear it is that almost half of the males, and one-fifth of the females are active participants in the activities of parties. It is deplorable that these students actively associate themselves with parties, and parties in their turn, suffer them to do so. It may obviously be generalised that parties in their grand design to seize power, get a sizable support from student community. It is earnestly to be hoped that this political cohabitation should be proscribed forthwith in order to save Indian democracy. Participation of citizens in active politics is very much democratic but that of student community is incontestably anti-democratic, hence all parties should once for all resolve that they will never have any intercourse with students. It is noticeable that females are not involved in active party politics to the extent to which males are. All the same, it appears that females are not restricting themselves to "hearth" alone but gradually taking to "field" also.

	Members	Participants	Sympathisers
Males	16.55%	47.69%	81.47%
Females	4.00%	17.33%	66.03%

On the whole, it is seen from the chart that the percentages of the male and female sympathisers are higher than the percentages of the male and female members and participants. Thus, a large number of males and females choose to be sympathisers. The percentages of the male and female participants should not be underestimated, for a glance at the chart will convince that they also form a sizable number. As expected the percentages of the male and female members are lowest comparatively. Obviously, few students can afford to be party members. Further, it is explicit that the percentages of female members, participants, and sympathisers are consistently and markedly lower than those of males. This may, therefore, be viewed as symbolic of their moderate interest in party politics. However, it may be said that they do not keep aloof from active political life, and this may be treated as a good augury.

A close view of the tables shows that out of the 363 male participants, 46.56% and 53.44% ; and of the 26 female participants, 76.92% and 23.08% participate in the activities of one party and of more than one party respectively. Participation in the activities of more than one party does not mean political irresponsibility and ignorance on the part of these students, for in our country there are more than one rightist, centralist, and leftist party. It is conspicuous that the percentage of the female participants in the activities of one party is higher than that of the male participants. It means a large number of the female participants are loyal to one party, and appear to be more choosey than males.

A detailed composition of the tables discloses participation of males and females in the activities of one party. I have treated below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 169 male and of the 20 female participants, the highest percentage of the males (44.96%) and the females (35%) participates in the activities of the Congress party. This at once parades how this party is most popular among students, and how its activities involve the largest number of the participants. It is not necessary to mention that it is not as much popular among females as among males. The Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti has 13.01% of the male participants and 15% of the female participants. It is clear that students are actively involved in the burning problems of the day. It is interesting to record that the appeal of the Samiti could net more females in its activities than males. 6.50% of the male participants only have taken part in the activities of the Republican party of India. The Peasants and Workers party attracts 4.73% of the male participants only. 4.14% of the male participants only report that they have partaken in the activities of the P.S.P. The forceful and vigorous appeal of the Communist party could attract 3.55% of the male participants only. The Jan Sangh is obliged by both 2.95% of the male participants and 5% of the female participants. The Lal Nishan Gat has 0.59% of the male participants only. It must be placed on record that surprisingly high percentage of males (18.93%) and females (45%) has refused to specify a party; one cannot imagine what has deterred them from mentioning the name of the party. In the overall context, it is seen that not a single male takes part in the activities of

the Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party; while no female partakes in the activities of the P.S.P., the Socialist party, the Communist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Republican party, and the Lal Nishan Gat. Obviously, this shows how these parties do not enjoy the patronage of males and females. It may be observed in the end that the highest percentage of male (49.10%) and female (35%) participates in the activities of the centralist parties—the Congress party and the P.S.P. The leftist parties—the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, and the Lal Nishan Gat—have 15.37% of the male participants only; while the rightist parties—the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party—only have 2.95% of the male and 5% of the female participants. It is needless to comment that the rightist parties are almost ostracised by students. The percentage of the male participants in the activities of the leftist parties should not be dismissed as meagre and thereby negligible, because Communism is a "cancer" that must be rooted out in order to preserve the health of Indian democracy. It is encouraging to notice that females do not seem to fall prey to the designs of the leftist parties.

A facultywise consideration of the tables shows that the highest percentage of the male participants (58.82%) is from the agriculture faculty. This is indeed puzzling taking into account the percentages of the male members and sympathisers from this faculty in comparison with the percentages of the male members and the sympathisers of other faculties. All the same, this may, I should believe, be attributed to their place of origin, that is, rural areas which have become of late the nucleus of political activities. There is almost no difference between the percentages of the male participants of the law faculty (57.89%) and the post-graduate classes (57.90%). This makes interesting and instructive reading because more than half of the males of the law faculty and of the post-graduate classes are active participants in the activities of parties. It signifies that the majority of those prosecuting higher studies not only like politics but also are engaged in active politics. It is indeed a good omen that the intellectuals-in-making do not refrain from active politics. The percentage of the male participants (53.24%) from the arts faculty is not small at all, for more than half of the males are involved in the activities of parties. It is explicit that the percentage of the male participants from the commerce faculty (47.43%) is higher than the percentage of the male participants from the science faculty (38.73%). It is discernible that males of the science and the commerce faculties are not involved in the activities of parties to the extent to which males of other faculties are. It is noteworthy that the percentage of the male participants from the science faculty is the lowest comparatively. It naturally implies their less interest in the activities of parties; it may be ascribed to their being career-minded or conscientious students. On the whole, it may broadly be generalised that the high percentage of males of almost every faculty is engaged in the activities of parties; hence it may be said that faculty does not markedly influence the participation of males.

In respect of females, it is observable, that females of the commerce faculty and of the post-graduate classes do not partake in the activities of parties. One female from the agriculture faculty reports that she is an active participant in the activities of parties, while the percentages of female participants from the arts (17.43%) and the science (19.35%) faculties are far lower than the percentages of the male participants from these faculties respectively. It is interesting to note that the percentage of the female participants of the science faculty is higher than the percentage of female participants from the arts faculty. On the whole, it may be inferred that females from every faculty give almost cold response in the matter of their participation in the activities of parties.

Tables 59 and 60 are devoted to participation in the activities of parties according to place of origin, and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 51.48%, and of the 472 urban students, 34.53%, are participants in the activities of parties. It goes without saying that the percentage of the rural participants is considerably higher than the percentage of the urban participants. It unequivocally signifies that rural students are heavily involved in active politics; urban students appear to have developed sickness for the activities of parties. It may be said that rural students are more susceptible and vulnerable politically than their counterparts from urban places. The large-scale involvement of rural students in the activities of parties expounds the fact that rural areas appear to have become a hub of party politics.

A close view of the tables further discloses that out of the 226 rural participants, 41.60% and 58.40%; and of the 163 urban participants, 58.28% and 41.72% take part in the activities of one party, and of more than one party respectively. Undoubtedly, urban students owe more allegiance to one party than rural students. This shows that they are more clear about their participation in the activities of political parties than rural students. It is seen that there are more political infidels among rural students than among urban students.

A detailed composition of the tables shows participation of rural and urban students in the activities of one party. I have considered below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 94 rural and of the 95 urban participants in the activities of one party the highest percentage of rural (53.20%) and urban (34.74%) participants is engaged in the activities of the Congress party. This at once displays how the largest number of the rural and urban participants are involved in the activities of this party. Thus, the Congress party appears to be at the zenith of its popularity. The democratic socialism of this party seems to be exultant in involving the largest number of the rural and urban participants in its activities. It is needless to mention that the Congress party is more popular among rural students than among urban students. The Republican party of India attracts participation of 9.64% of rural and 1.05% of urban participants. Plainly, this party lives largely on the support of rural following. It is difficult to understand as to why urban students do not participate in the activities of

this party. The Peasants and Workers party draws more participants from rural areas (5.32%) than from urban places (2.10%). This indicates that the activities of this party seem to be confined more to rural areas than to urban places. It is a matter of education to record that the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti secures participation of 4.25% of the rural and 22.11% of the urban participants. It is convincing to maintain that the demand of the Samiti was better understood and appreciated by the urban participants than by the rural ones. Though the percentage of the rural participants is small, it must be borne in mind that the demand of the Samiti has reached the hearts of some rural people. The Jan Sangh gathers 4.25% of the rural and 2.10% of the urban participants. It is discernible that this party is better rooted in rural areas than in urban places. 3.18% of the rural and 6.31% of the urban participants state that they are occupied with the activities of the P.S.P. Evidently, the P.S.P. has more moorings in urban places than in rural areas. A propulsive propaganda of the Communist party could not succeed in netting a good catch as 2.12% of the rural and 4.21% of the urban participants report that they partake in its activities. The Lal Nishan Gat could persuade 1.06% of the rural participants only. This shows the isolation of this party in both urban and rural areas. It is seen that the percentage of the rural participants (15.96%) not specifying the party is lower than the percentage of the urban participants (27.37%). On the whole, it may be observed that it is the centralist parties—the Congress party and the P.S.P.—which are most popular among both rural (56.38%) and urban (41.05%) participants. All the same, it is discernible that the centralist parties are more popular among rural places than among urban areas. The leftist parties—the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party and the Lal Nishan Gat—have 17.14% of the rural and 7.36% of the urban participants. It is plain that they are comparatively more popular among rural areas than among urban places. The rightist party, the Jan Sangh, attracts a meagre percentage of the rural (4.25%) and the urban (2.10%) participants. But it may be said that it is more popular among rural areas than among urban places. Once more, it is noted that political activities are better understood, appreciated and responded to by rural students than by urban students. It may indisputably be said that rural areas have become a centre of political activities. In the end, it may be observed that the Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party do not have rural participants, while the urban participants too do not oblige the Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Swatantra party and the Lal Nishan Gat. This immediately discloses the popularity of these parties in both rural as well as urban places.

A castewise consideration of the tables reveals that both rural and urban students of every caste are participants in activities of parties. This explicitly signifies that all castes have access to party polities which is no longer a preserve of any particular caste. It is encouraging to note that all castes have interest in active polities. All the same, it may be placed on record that a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas reports that he does not participate in activities of any party

His is a typical case of non-response. The percentages of the Brahmin, the Jain, the Maratha, the Muslim, and the Christian participants from rural areas are higher than the percentages of the participants of these castes from urban places, while the percentages of the Gujar etc., the Lingayat, the Intermediate Hindu, and the Backward and Scheduled castes participants from urban places are higher than the percentages of the participants of these castes from rural areas. Further, more than half of the Jain, the Maratha, Backward and Scheduled castes, the Muslims and the Christian castes students from rural areas are participants in the activities of parties ; while more than half of the students of the Intermediate Hindus, and the Backward and Scheduled castes from urban places take part in the activities of parties. Thus, urban students of almost all castes are not involved in the activities of political parties to the extent to which the students of almost all castes from rural areas are. The highest percentages of the rural and urban participants are from the Christians (80%) and the Backward and Schejuled Castes (cent per cent) ; and the percentages of the rural and urban participants from the Muslims (73.33% and 41.66%), the Jains (65.62% and 38.23%), the Lingayats (41.37% and 50%), the Backward and Scheduled Castes (52.38% and 100%) and the Gujjars etc. (28.57% and 30%) are respectively considerably high. This at once demonstrates that the minority castes are " grazing on the ground " of party politics uninhibited—this is indeed encouraging and enlightening. In respect of the Marathas and the Brahmins it is observable that the percentages of the Maratha participants from rural (59.70%), and urban (43.63%) places are almost double the percentages of the Brahmin participants from rural (30.97%) and urban (21.67%) areas. In this context, it is worth reporting that the percentages of the Brahmin participants from rural and urban places are lowest. This categorically discovers that the majority of them seem to be loath to entangle themselves in activities of parties ; or it may be said that they are gradually seceding from active politics or shall I say that they are bidding adieu to politics altogether. It would be platitudinous to say that the Marathas are politically more involved and committed than the Brahmins.

A detailed break-up of the tables, further, demonstrates the number of participants in activities of each party according to caste. It is only the Congress party that has patronage of the majority of castes from both rural and urban areas. This party seems to be above the parochial caste considerations as it enjoys the confidence of almost all castes. All the same, it is a revelation that the Backward and Scheduled castes, and a Neo-Buddhist do not have either sympathies for or participate in the activities of the Congress party. Rest of the parties have few participants from few castes ; and some of them are obliged by particular castes. The Jan Sangh has participants only from the Brahmins ; the Republican party of India interests the participants from Non-Brahmins, and specially from the Backward and Scheduled castes ; and the Peasants and Workers party too attracts the participants from the Non-Brahmins. It is highly deplorable that these parties have come to be identified with particular castes. It is apparent that some parties in India are so unscrupulous and perverse that they, in their madness to capture

power, brazen-facedly stoop to prostitute the caste patriotism of some people. It is saddening that participation of few students is influenced irrationally by caste considerations. If these students are not cured of this malignant malady, Indian democracy would be eaten away by it in the long run.

PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

After eliciting the "confessional statements" regarding participation of students in the activities of parties, it was envisaged to pinpoint the actual activities in which students are involved largely. All political activities are not deliberately enumerated here; only an attempt is made to spotlight to what extent students are roped in important political activities. This will once more establish the political involvement of students. I have offered ten activities to students—*morcha*, *procession*, *demonstration*, *strike*, *hartal*, *picketing*, *satyagraha*, *political movement*, *trade union activities*, and other.

Table 61 deals with participation of males and females in the political activities. I have treated below their percentages in the descending order. A glance at the table shows that the number of participants in the activities of political parties and in the political activities is the same. Out of the 363 male and of the 26 female participants, the highest percentage of the males (67.77%) and the females (65.38%) associates with "processions". Thus, the largest number of males and females is angled by processions. It may be deduced that students constitute a sizable number of processionists. Apparently, the percentage of the male participants is higher than that of the female participants. Naturally, males seem to be more attracted towards processions than females. "Political movements" too attract a large number of male (43.80%) and female (38.46%) participants. It is worth recording that political movements find favour with students. They do not as much appeal to females as to males. "Morchas" are joined by 36.36% of the male and 15.38% of the female participants. It goes without saying that *morchas* are not as much popular with students as processions and political movements. Females have less fascination for *morchas* than males. It is explicit that a call to observe "hartal" is responded by 24.79% of the male and 34.61% of the female participants. It is a common observation that *hartal* is largely made successful by students. It is interesting that the percentage of the female participants is higher than the percentage of the male participants. It means *hartals* are observed more by females than by males. As expected "strikes" do not have much appeal to students. Only 8.26% of the male and 7.68% of the female participants are involved in strikes. It is sad that students have fallen prey even to political strikes. This is largely true of males than of females. "Trade union activities" could muster 14.32% of the male and 11.53% of the female participants. Generally, students are not supposed to have any association with trade unions but they seem to interest themselves in any political affairs. The higher percentage of males indicates that they have more interest in trade union activities than females. 13.49% of the male and 3.84% of the female participants report that they take part in "demonstrations". Evidently, females

do not have as much attraction for demonstrations as males "Satyagraha" is favoured by 8.81% of the male and 11.53% of the female participants. Though satyagraha is comparatively more popular among females than among males, its former grandeur is certainly declining now. 7.16% of the male participants only state that they participate in "picketings". Females have clearly refused to associate themselves with picketings. It may be observed in the end that processions and political movements are the most popular political activities among students, and morthas and hartals occupy the second place. This observation is, I should believe, very much in consonance with usual experience. It is plain that students are in every political happening and affair.

REASONS FOR PARTICIPATION

When the involvement of students in the activities of parties is established, it was thought useful to investigate the reasons which have induced them to participate. It must be made clear that the reasons advanced by those who have taken part in the activities of one party are treated here. In all, I have presented fifteen reasons to students: suggested by friends, requested by party, forced by party, encouraged by elders, attracted by the personality of leader, party programme, out of self-conviction, to become leader, personal benefit, to raise self-prestige to get job in future, social services, conscientious citizen, friends participate, and other.

Table 62 gives the distribution of the reasons for participation according to sex. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of the 169 male and of the 20 female participants in the activities of one party, the highest percentage of the males (50.88%) and the females (30%) has participated "out of self-conviction". This immediately discloses that students are not at all pressurized externally but they have volunteered themselves to participate; their self-conviction solely propels them to do so. This is largely true of males than of females. In a democratic state citizens are authorised to participate in political affairs which are veritably coterminous with party affairs. It is gratifying that 46.74% of male and 20% of the female participants partake in the activities of party as they are "conscientious citizens". It means these students would like to share in the expression and administration of state's will. The higher percentage of males is symbolic of their being more conscientious citizens than females. A sense of "social service" allures 33.13% of the male and 25% of the female participants to take part in party activities. It is deducible that these students are principally inspired by the sense of social service. It is apparent that they are under impression that social service is commensurate with party activities, consequently, they dedicate themselves to party activities. This is largely true of males than of females. Party swims and sinks with leaders; it prospers and perishes with them. Leaders are the undisputed architects of party. They are the beacon that charts the course of party activities. 28.99% of the male and 25% of the female participants take to party

activities because of "the personality of leaders". Explicitly, they are charmed by the personality of leaders, therefore they throw themselves with heart and soul in party activities. Besides, it follows that the personality of leaders matters very much in party politics; hence, leaders should have unimpeachable personality. It is amazing that more males are mesmerised by the personality of leaders than females! Party programme is a charter of pledges. It is always propagated and publicised in order to win the mass of members, supporters and electors. There are 24.25% of the male and 5% of the female participants who participate in party activities by the considerations of "party programme". It signifies that they attach more importance to party programme than females. 8.28% of the male and 15% of the female participants state that they are "encouraged by elders" to take to party activities. Obviously, the elders of these students seem to be political-minded, and politically committed; therefore, they cheer their wards to partake in party activities. All the same, it must be said that the elders of these students are irresponsible citizens who induce their wards to take to active politics. At the same time, it may be borne in mind that some students fall prey to the encouragement of their elders. This is largely true of females than of males. Thus, when encouraged females would always do what is expected of them. There are 6.50% of the male participants only who have unreservedly stated that the primary motive in participating in party activities is to "become leaders" eventually. They seem to be under the belief that participation in party activities would make them leaders finally. It also signifies their political aspirations. It is a revelation that 5.91% of the male participants are brutally frank when they declare that they take part in party activities with an ulterior motive of making "personal gains". It is unfortunate that these males have identified participation in party activities with the "lucrative profession". If participation yields personal gains it must be strongly despised. It implies that some parties endeavour to win the following in this fashion. This is an instance of how parties, when they stoop to conquer, would do anything with utter disregard for all canons of civil behaviour. There are 5.91% of the male and 10% of the female participants who have responded to "request by party" to participate in party activities.

Thus, these students are not opposed to participation on principle, but they only love to be solicited by party; and once entreated they surrender! This is largely true of females than of males. Even "suggestion by friends" exerts influence on the political behaviour of students, as is evident from the report of 4.73% of the male and 5% of the female participants that they take part in party activities at the suggestion of their friends. So, association with friends deserves attention in the study of political behaviour. Males and females seem to be almost equally vulnerable to suggestions of their friends. It is interesting to observe that 4.73% of the male participants only report that they take part in party activities in order to "raise self-prestige". It clearly means that association with certain parties elevates the importance of people; otherwise these males would not have dreamed of participating in party activities. Thus, an ulterior

motive of males becomes intelligible. There is one more example of what an association with friends can do. 2.95% of the male and 5% of the female participants report that they are participants in party activities because their "friends are participants". This, further, discloses not only the influence exercised by an association with friends but also the sheep-mentality of these students. Females are more influenced by the participation of their friends than males. 2.36% of the male participants state that they take part in party activities with a view to "get service in future". It means participation in the activities of certain parties guarantees service. This is how parties recruit commercial participants in their activities. Only one male (0.59%) participant protests that he is "forced by party". It means parties resort to force to get clientele when peaceful and persuasive ways do not deliver goods. On the whole, it may be observed that the majority of students participate in party activities because of "self-conviction", "conscientious citizens", "social service", "personality of leaders" and "party programme". These reasons categorically indicate that students are not forced externally to participate; and they could be regarded as politically mature to decide the course of their action. Rest of the reasons have mustered but few participants among whom some are guided by ulterior motives: "to get service in future", "to raise self-prestige", "to secure personal gains", and "to become leader"; and others fall prey to "suggestion by friends", "request by party", "forced by party", "encouragement by elders", and "participation of friends".

REASONS FOR NON-PARTICIPATION

It would be revealing to scrutinise the reasons that have inhibited 52.29% of the male and 82.67% of the female non-participants from participating in party activities. In all, I have offered eleven reasons to students: lack of time, elders not allowing, friends not participating, no liking for party politics, fear of being branded as party-man, fear of not getting government service, belief in non-party politics, not paid by party for participation, disbelief in democracy, government servant, and other.

Table 63 gives the distribution of the reasons for non-participation according to sex. I have treated below the percentage of males and females in the descending order. Out of the 398 male and of the 124 female non-participants, the highest percentage of the males (50.76%) and the females (58.87%) has categorically expressed its "aversion for party politics". So the dislike for party politics has restrained these males and females from participating in party activities. There appears to be something basically wrong with party politics; therefore, they have come to disdain and discard it. It is deducible that had these males and females not developed distaste for party politics, or had the party politics been "clean" and healthy, they would have taken part in party activities without hesitation. Evidently, females dislike party politics more than males. It means they have more unpleasant experience with party politics than males.

The "lack of time" has incapacitated 39.70% of the male and 34.67% of the female non-participants to participate in party activities. It is not an overstatement that participation in party activities eats away a lot of time; and it may be that these students are conscientious and therefore, reluctant to prodigalise their time unproductively on party activities. They may be regarded as minute-men, who would utilise their time for study. On the whole, it is discernible that these students are not opposed to participation in party activities on principle. Males are more short of time than females. There are 8.79% of the male and 4.83% of the female non-participants who refrain from participating in party activities because of their "belief in non-party politics". Their disgusting experience with party politics seems to have converted them into champions of partyless politics. Thus, a section of student community maintains staunchly that politics should be made "clean" by purging off parties from it. This is largely true of males than of females. Association with friends widely affects the behaviour-pattern; this is obvious from the report of 8.54% of the male and 6.45% of the female non-participants who do not take part in party activities because their "friends do not participate". Thus, man is known by the company he keeps. Besides, it may be said that these students do not have their own opinion about participation; they follow their friends like sheep. Interestingly, males follow their friends more than females. 8.29% of the male and 12.90% of the female non-participants state that their "elders do not allow" them to partake in party activities. It appears that elders are so conscientious that they are opposed to their wards' indulging in party activities. All the same, it must be recorded that these males and females do respect the desires of their elders otherwise, they would have defied them and participated triumphantly in party activities. Females are restrained more by their elders than males. "Fear of being branded as party-man" simply frightens away 5.27% of the male and 0.80% of the female non-participants from taking part in party activities. It appears that association with certain parties have adverse effect upon the interest of these males and females; therefore, they refuse to identify themselves with such parties. It means they are not opposed to participation in principle. Evidently, males are more afraid of being branded as partymen than females. 4.77% of the male non-participants only report that they do not participate in party activities because of "fear of not getting government service". These males are obviously careerist and do not like to blemish their prospects by associating themselves with party activities. There are 2.76% of the male and 1.61% of the female non-participants who have clearly expressed their "disbelief in democracy" thereby dissociating with party activities. Plainly, these students have identified democracy with party. If parties become "stainless", I should think, they would come to trust democracy. Males distrust democracy more than females. Only 1.25% of the male non-participants grumble that they have to abstain from participating in party activities because they are "government servants". It means they are keen about taking part in party activities; had they not been government servants they would have been participants; or had the government allowed them to participate they would have done so. One male

(0.25%) reports that he does not participate in party activities because he is not paid to do so by any party. It means, besides voluntary participants, parties may collect commercial participants to swell their number. This is an illustration of what party can do unscrupulously to attract participants. On the whole, it may be observed in the end that the majority of students do not participate in party activities owing to "lack of time", and "dislike for party politics". All the same, it may be maintained that the difficulties advanced by students for their non-participation are not insurmountable altogether. Therefore, it is inferable that if the difficulties stated above were got rid of, these males and females would have become participants: they are not opposed to participation in principle.

TRADE UNIONS

An institution of trade union, though of recent origin, has become a force to be reckoned with. It has carved out an influential place in social and economic life of our country. The early trade union period synchronised with the immediate post-war political aspirations, culminating in the Swaraj movement. Naturally and inevitably, the leadership for infant trade union movement was furnished by the political upsurge and hence Indian trade unions assumed a deep political colour. Thus, political movement and labour movement are interlinked and have advanced more or less simultaneously, the latter always being under the patronage of the former. It goes without saying that parties have been employing the voice and strength of labour for political ends. In view of this, it was felt imperative to take cognizance of trade unionism. This would show the involvement of students in trade unions, and spotlight their political alignments.

MEMBERSHIP OF TRADE UNIONS

As expected, a very few students are members of trade unions. Only 15 males have reported that they are union members. There is no case of female member. Since the percentage of the male members (1.97%) is miserably meagre, it is not displayed in the table. It is explicit that students do not appear to be keen on registering themselves as union members; or it may, I should think, be observed that they do not seem to have any concern with trade unions. The absence of female members may be treated as symbolic of their disinterest in trade unions. A detailed examination of the sample discovers that the Kamgar Union and the Bank Union have three male members each on their rolls; while the Sakhar Kamgar Union, the Municipal Kamgar Union, and the Kolhapur Zilla Kamgar Union attract two male members each. The Post and Telegraph Employees' Union, the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh, and the Taluka Shikshak Sangh are obliged by one male member each. A facultywise treatment of the sample discloses that out of the 15 male members, eleven are claimed by the arts faculty, and four belong to the commerce faculty. These faculties have union members because out of three arts colleges two, Gopin Krishna Gokhale College, and Kirti College

and the Commerce College are morning colleges. This is how these students are enabled to learn and earn; while earning their bread they associate themselves with trade unions. A place-of-origin-wise consideration of the sample indicates that out of 439 rural students 1.82%, and of the 472 urban students 1.48% are union members. This categorically proves that rural students are more involved in trade unions than urban students. It means rural students have more interest in trade unions than urban students. A castewise treatment of the sample shows that from rural areas three Brahmins, one Jain, one Lingayat, two Backward and Scheduled Castes, and one Muslim are union members; while from urban places one Jain, three Marathas, one Lingayat, one Intermediate Hindu, one Backward and Scheduled caste are union members.

SYMPATHY FOR TRADE UNIONS

It would undoubtedly be a matter of education to learn whether or not students have sympathies for trade unions because this would not only throw light upon their knowledge of trade unions but also reveal their political inclinations. I have knowingly not provided students with the names of trade unions as their number is more than fifty; therefore, I have asked students if they have sympathies for trade unions to state the name of a party to which a trade union is affiliated. It is a common knowledge that trade unions are almost avowedly or unavowedly party unions.

Tables 64 and 65 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 66.48% and of the 150 females, 52.67% have sympathies for trade unions. This at once highlights the interest of the majority of students in trade unions. It would not be presumptuous to state that they are fairly familiarised with the activities of trade unions; otherwise, they would not have extended their sympathies to trade unions. A comparatively lower percentage of females is suggestive of their moderate interest in trade unions.

A close look at the tables shows that out of the 506 male sympathisers, 46.44% and 53.56%; and of the 79 female sympathisers, 60.75% and 39.25% have sympathies for trade unions of one party and of more than one party respectively. Sympathies for trade unions of more than one party sound paradoxical but it is not certainly preposterous for the simple reason that in our country there are more than one rightist, centralist and leftist party; hence, one is led to generalise that sympathies of students for trade unions of more than one party should not be treated as indicative of their political immaturity. It is plain that sympathies of 46.44% of the male and 60.75% of the female sympathisers have been unequivocally crystallised for trade unions of one party. It is remarkable that sympathies of females are definitized more for trade unions of one party than that of males. This may be ascribed to their unwavering loyalty to "one party".

A detailed composition of the tables further shows sympathies of the males and the females for trade unions of one party. I have considered their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 235 male and of the 48 female sympathisers for trade unions of one party, the highest percentage of the male (34.89%) and the female (47.84%) sympathisers has sympathies for trade unions of the Congress party. This immediately and undoubtedly displays the top-most popularity of the trade unions of this party among students. Evidently, they are more popular among females than among males. It may be noted with interest that the trade unions of the Peasants and Workers party enjoy sympathies of 31.81% of the male and 29.12% of the female sympathisers. It is noteworthy that the rating for this party is all time high considering the percentages of the male and female party members, sympathisers, and participants. It is plain that trade unions of this party have fascinating appeal to students; obviously, they are more popular among males than among females. Trade unions of the P.S.P. attract sympathies of 8.51% of the male and 8.32% of the female sympathisers. Apparently, they are almost as much popular among males as among females. Trade unions of the Communist party get sympathies of 8.08% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers. The percentages of the sympathisers for the Communist party are smaller than the percentages of the sympathisers for its unions. It clearly signifies that trade union activities of this party are better appreciated by males and females than its other activities. All the same, it is evident that females do not extend their sympathies to trade unions of this party to the extent to which males do. The Jan Sangh attracts sympathies of 5.10% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers for its trade unions. Clearly, trade unions of this party enjoy sympathies of males more than those of females. The Socialist party secures sympathies of 4.68% of the male and 4.16% of the female sympathisers for its trade unions. Trade unions of this party have no male member but have both male and female sympathisers. Apparently, trade unions of this party are almost as much popular among males as among females. Trade unions of the Republican party of India have 2.55% of the male and 4.16% of the female sympathisers. Obviously, in the matter of sympathies females excel males. Trade unions of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Swatantra party get sympathies of 0.85% of the male sympathisers each; they do not have female sympathisers. Trade unions of the Lal Nishan Gat win sympathies of 0.85% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers. In the overall context, it is seen that trade unions of the centralist parties—the Congress party, the P.S.P., and the S.P.—have the highest percentage of the male (48.08%) and the female (60.32%) sympathisers. The higher percentage of the female sympathisers indicates that females are more appreciative of trade unions of the centralist parties than males. Trade unions of the leftist parties—the Communist party, the Republican party, the Peasants and Workers party and the Lal Nishan Gat—have 43.29% of the male and 37.44% of the female sympathisers. This at once reveals that in matter of trade union activities of these parties males and females in large number extend their sympathies to trade unions. This abnormal rise in the percentages of males and females may be attributed to the

militant character of the leftist unionism. It would not be presumptuous to observe that if the labour movement is not won over from the leftist parties once for all, it will pose a danger to our democracy in the long run, because males and females do not as much like other activities of these parties as trade union activities. Trade unions of the rightist parties—the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, and the Swatantra party—have sympathies of 6.80% of the male and 2.08% of the female sympathisers. This proves that these parties and their trade unions fare miserably even in respect of sympathies.

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the post-graduate classes (86.85%). This is an indication that males of the post-graduate classes evince more interest in unionism than their counterparts in other faculties. It is worth commenting that those *pursuing higher studies relish the activities of trade unions*. The arts faculty occupies the next place as it attracts 70.86% of the male sympathisers. It is apparent that the lawyers-in-making lag behind the males of the arts faculty in their sympathies for trade unions. This is evident from the percentage of the male sympathisers (68.41%) from the law faculty. The percentage of the male sympathisers (68.02%) from the commerce faculty is not markedly less than that of the male sympathisers from the law faculty. In the light of the percentages of the male sympathisers from the post-graduate classes, the law, the arts and the commerce faculties the percentage of the male sympathisers (60.08%) from the science faculty is low. This may be taken as suggestive of their comparatively moderate interest in trade unionism. All the same, it may be made clear that the lowest percentage of the male sympathisers (47.05%) is from the agriculture faculty. This manifests their comparatively less interest in trade unionism.

In respect of females, it is discernible that the percentages of the female sympathisers from the arts and the science faculties, and the post-graduate classes are lower than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties; and the percentages of the female sympathisers of the commerce, and the agriculture faculties are higher than the percentages of the male sympathisers from these faculties but the number of females in these faculties is so meagre that their percentages should not indeed be compared with those of males of these faculties. Therefore, it may be observed that males of every faculty have more sympathies for trade unions than females of every faculty. It follows from this that males from every faculty are politically more alert and alive than females. It is observable that cent per cent females of the commerce, and the agriculture faculties have sympathies for trade unions. The percentage of the female sympathisers (75%) from the post-graduate classes is considerably high. It means females prosecuting higher education do not turn their back even on trade unions; they are politically aware. It is amusing that the percentage of the female sympathisers (51.61%) from the science faculty is higher than the percentage of the female sympathisers (49.53%) from the arts faculty. In the overall context, two observations can be made: first, it is trade unions of the Congress party alone that

of only Brahmins from rural areas ; but one Maratha, and one Intermediate Hindu along with Brahmins and others from urban places extend their sympathies to trade unions of this party. Trade unions of the Republican party of India live on sympathies of only rural students of the Backward and Scheduled castes and of Christians. Trade unions of the Peasants and Workers party have sympathies of the non-Brahmin students from rural and urban places. It is unfortunate that even in respect of trade unionism some students have casteist bias.

STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS

Political parties are communities with general aims ; they provide complete and coherent systems of thought about society ; they aim at a total organisation of national and even international life. This breadth of aim drives away from them many people who would agree with them on some particular issues but not on the whole. Some modern parties have a brilliant idea to set up, alongside the party, a series of "doubles"—ancillary organisations—with restricted aims. *Ancillary organisations can assume the most diverse shapes, carry on work in* most varied fields, and bring together most dissimilar people. Obviously, ancillary organisations are the various bodies, created by the party itself and controlled by it ; they make possible wider participation. Among other ancillary organisations Youth Associations are set up by some parties. It is in the fitness of things to learn to what extent students are involved in such organisations.

MEMBERSHIP OF STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS

Table 68 gives the distribution of the sample according to faculty and sex (males only). Since the number of female members is considerably small, it is not shown in the table. Out of 761 males, 9.21% and of the 150 females, 1.33% are members of student associations. The low percentages of males and females reveal that student associations have failed to attract students in large numbers ; or it may be said that the low percentages are suggestive of their least interest in student associations. This is more true of females than of males.

A detailed examination of the sample discloses that out of the 70 male members, 55.73% have reported to be the members of student associations outside Kolhapur. It means "outsiders" in Kolhapur are more involved in student associations than those dwelling in Kolhapur. The Kolhapur Zilla Vidyarthi Sangh has 31.43% of the male members : this is the highest percentage. It is evident that the K.Z.V.S is more popular than other student associations. The Kolhapur Zilla Yuval Congress attracts 8.57% of the male members ; while 4.28% of the male members report that they are members of the Kolhapur Dalit Vidyarthi Utkarsh Mandal. Only two females have reported that they are members of the K.Z.V.S. This again shows that the K.Z.V.S. is most popular among males and females.

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that except the agriculture faculty all faculties have patronised student associations. The highest percentage of the male members (15.78%) is from the law faculty. It indicates how students of the law faculty are involved in comparatively larger number in student associations. It is seen that the percentage of the male members (14.38%) of the arts faculty is higher than that of the male members (10.52%) of the post-graduate classes. It may be said that the post-graduate students do not as much relish the activities of student associations as students of the law and arts faculties. The commerce faculty has been obliged by 8.97% of the male members. Their lower percentage (males) may be because the activities of student associations are not "lucrative". The lowest percentage of the male members (3.55%) is from the science faculty. This at once reveals how students of the science faculty have less interest even in the activities of student associations. It is noticeable that the female members belong to the arts faculty. Other faculties have evidently been ostracised by females.

Table 69 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 12.07% and of the 472 urban students 4.02% have reported that they are members of student associations. It goes without saying that even in respect of student associations rural students unequivocally evince more interest than urban students.

A close view of the table further discovers that out of the 53 rural members, 64.15% and of the 19 urban members 26.31% state that they are members of student associations outside Kolhapur. It is safe to infer that these "outsiders" have retained their association with student organisations outside Kolhapur even when they have come to Kolhapur for higher studies. Obviously, this is more true of rural students than of urban students. A glance at the table conveys that it is the K.Z.V.S. which is most popular among both the rural (24.53%) and the urban (57.89%) members. It is apparent that this association is more popular among urban students than among rural students; even the K.Z.Y.C. is more popular among urban students (15.78% of the members) than among rural students (5.66% of the members). It is surprising that the K.D.V.U.M. gets membership only from rural students (5.66% of the members). It means the Dalit (suppressed) Vidyarthi (students) from urban places do not seem to believe in the Utkarsh (ameliorative) activities of this Mandal. It is plain that student associations run in Kolhapur have more urban members than rural members.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that students of Muslim, Neo-Buddhist, and Gujar, etc. castes from rural areas; and of Lingayat, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled castes, and Christian castes from urban places have not patronised any student association. The percentages of Brahmins, Jains and Marathas from rural areas are higher than those of urban places. On the whole, there is nothing markedly observable regarding the castewise treatment of the sample except that the percentages of Brahmins from both rural and urban

enjoy sympathies of almost the largest number of males and females of every faculty, and secondly, sympathies for trade unions are not decisively influenced by faculty as is evident from the considerably high percentages of the male and female sympathisers from every faculty.

Tables 66 and 67 give the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 71.07% and of the 472 urban students, 57.85% have sympathies for trade unions of various parties. Evidently, the large number of students from both rural and urban places extend their sympathies to trade unions. It indicates their interest in and knowledge about trade unions. It is noticeable that there is a wide disparity between the percentages of rural and urban students. This may be attributed to the deep interest of rural students in trade unions. Generally, activities of trade unions are confined to cities where industries and factories are located; hence, urban students are supposed to be in the know of trade union activities. But they do not have sympathies for trade unions to the extent to which rural students have. This may be because urban students seem to be indifferent towards trade unions, and rural students seem to be attracted towards them when they come to urban places for their higher education. Whatever explanation may be advanced the fact remains that urban students have less interest in trade unions than their counterparts from rural places.

A close examination of the tables reveals that out of the 312 rural sympathisers, 41.99% and 58.01%, and of the 273 urban sympathisers, 55.71% and 44.29% have sympathies for trade unions of one party and of more than one party respectively. It is observable that sympathies of 41.99% of the rural and 55.71% of the urban sympathisers have been positively crystallised for trade unions of one party. It obviously means that they have definitely come to owe their allegiance to one party only, and do not have preferential considerations for trade unions of more than one party. In the end, it may be recorded that this decisiveness is more noticeable among urban students than among rural ones.

A detailed composition of the tables further shows sympathies of the rural and urban sympathisers for trade unions of one party. I have considered below the percentages of the rural and urban sympathisers in the descending order. Out of the 131 rural sympathisers and of the 152 urban sympathisers the highest percentage of the rural (36.64%) and urban (37.50%) sympathisers has sympathies for trade unions of the Congress party. This at once discloses how trade unions of this party are most popular among both rural as well as urban students. All the same, it is seen that they are more popular among urban students than among rural ones. It is interesting to note that trade unions of the Peasants and Workers party get sympathies of 32.05% of the rural and 21.73% of the urban sympathisers; the percentages for membership, sympathy, and participation of this party are considerably low; it is apparent that trade union activities of this party appeal more to students than its other affairs. It goes without saying that trade

union activities of this party are more popular among rural students than among urban students. There are 8.40% of the rural and 8.55% of the urban sympathisers who have extended their sympathies to trade unions of the P.S.P. As there is no marked difference between the two percentages, it may be said that trade unions of this party are as much popular among rural students as among urban students. Trade unions of the Jan Sangh secure sympathies of more urban sympathisers (15.14%) than rural sympathisers (6.86%). It is explicit that trade unions of this party are more popular among urban students than among rural students. Trade unions of the Socialist party attract 4.58% of the rural and 4.61% of the urban sympathisers. Obviously, trade unions of this party are almost equally popular among rural and urban places. It is instructive to observe that trade unions of the Communist party gain sympathies of 4.58% of the rural and 9.21% of the urban sympathisers. Apparently, trade unions of this party are better appreciated by urban students than by rural students. 3.82% of the rural sympathisers only report that they extend their sympathies to trade unions of the Republican party of India. Trade unions of the Swatantra party rally 1.52% of the rural and 0.66% of the urban sympathisers. Trade unions of this party are more popular among rural students than among urban students. Trade unions of the Lal Nishan Gat have sympathies of 0.76% of the rural and 1.32% of the urban sympathisers. Plainly, trade unions of this party are more popular among urban students than among rural students. In the overall context, it would be worthwhile to observe in the end that trade unions of the centralist parties—the Congress party, the Socialist party and the P.S.P.—are most popular among rural as well as urban students. All the same, it may be mentioned that trade unions of these parties are slightly more popular among urban students (50.66% of sympathisers) than among rural students (49.62% of sympathisers). It is amazing that percentages of the rural (41.21%) and urban (32.26%) sympathisers for trade unions of the leftist parties—the Communist party, the Republican party of India, the Peasants and Workers party, and the Lal Nishan Gat—are considerably high. It goes without saying that trade unions of these parties are liked more by rural students than by urban students. Trade unions of the rightist parties—the Jan Sangh, and the Swatantra party—are obliged by a meagre percentage of the rural (8.38%) and the urban (15.80%) sympathisers. Evidently, trade unions of these parties are more popular among urban students than among rural students.

A castewise treatment of the tables reveals that the high percentage of rural and urban students of almost every caste has sympathies for trade unions of parties. It obviously signifies that sympathies of students are not influenced by caste. It follows from this that all castes are in the know of trade union activities. A close look at the tables discloses that trade unions of the Congress party only transcend caste barriers except those of the Backward and Scheduled castes. Further, it is discernible that trade unions of some parties get sympathies of particular castes. Obviously, such trade unions may be characterised as casteist without any bias. Trade unions of the Jan Sangh attract the sympathies

of only Brahmins from rural areas; but one Maratha, and one Intermediate Hindu along with Brahmins and others from urban places extend their sympathies to trade unions of this party. Trade unions of the Republican party of India live on sympathies of only rural students of the Backward and Scheduled castes and of Christians. Trade unions of the Peasants and Workers party have sympathies of the non-Brahmin students from rural and urban places. It is unfortunate that even in respect of trade unionism some students have casteist bias

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MEMBERSHIP OF STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS

Table 68 gives the distribution of the sample according to faculty and sex (males only). Since the number of female members is considerably small, it is not shown in the table. Out of 761 males, 9.21% and of the 150 females, 1.33% are members of student associations. The low percentages of males and females reveal that student associations have failed to attract students in large numbers; or it may be said that the low percentages are suggestive of their least interest in student associations. This is more true of females than of males.

A detailed examination of the sample discloses that out of the 70 male members, 55.73% have reported to be the members of student associations outside Kolhapur. It means "outsiders" in Kolhapur are more involved in student associations than those dwelling in Kolhapur. The Kolhapur Zilla Vidyarthi Sangh has 31.43% of the male members: this is the highest percentage. It is evident that the K.Z.V.S. is more popular than other student associations. The Kolhapur Zilla Yuval Congress attracts 8.57% of the male members; while 4.28% of the male members report that they are members of the Kolhapur Dalit Vidyarthi Utkarsh Mandal. Only two females have reported that they are members of the K.Z.V.S. This again shows that the K.Z.V.S. is most popular among males and females.

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that except the agriculture faculty all faculties have patronised student associations. The highest percentage of the male members (15.78%) is from the law faculty. It indicates how students of the law faculty are involved in comparatively larger number in student associations. It is seen that the percentage of the male members (14.38%) of the arts faculty is higher than that of the male members (10.52%) of the post-graduate classes. It may be said that the post-graduate students do not as much relish the activities of student associations as students of the law and arts faculties. The commerce faculty has been obliged by 8.97% of the male members. Their lower percentage (males) may be because the activities of student associations are not "lucrative". The lowest percentage of the male members (3.55%) is from the science faculty. This at once reveals how students of the science faculty have less interest even in the activities of student associations. It is noticeable that the female members belong to the arts faculty. Other faculties have evidently been ostracised by females.

Table 69 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 12.07% and of the 472 urban students 4.02% have reported that they are members of student associations. It goes without saying that even in respect of student associations rural students unequivocally evince more interest than urban students.

A close view of the table further discovers that out of the 53 rural members, 64.15% and of the 19 urban members 26.31% state that they are members of student associations outside Kolhapur. It is safe to infer that these "outsiders" have retained their association with student organisations outside Kolhapur even when they have come to Kolhapur for higher studies. Obviously, this is more true of rural students than of urban students. A glance at the table conveys that it is the K.Z.V.S. which is most popular among both the rural (24.53%) and the urban (57.89%) members. It is apparent that this association is more popular among urban students than among rural students; even the K.Z.Y.C. is more popular among urban students (15.78% of the members) than among rural students (5.66% of the members). It is surprising that the K.D.V.U.M. gets membership only from rural students (5.66% of the members). It means the Dalit (suppressed) Vidyarthi (students) from urban places do not seem to believe in the Utkarsh (ameliorative) activities of this Mandal. It is plain that student associations run in Kolhapur have more urban members than rural members.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that students of Muslim, Neo-Buddhist, and Gujar, etc. castes from rural areas; and of Lingayat, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled castes, and Christian castes from urban places have not patronised any student association. The percentages of Brahmins, Jains and Marathas from rural areas are higher than those of urban places. On the whole, there is nothing markedly observable regarding the castewise treatment of the sample except that the percentages of Brahmins from both rural and urban

places are lowest, and the K.D.V.U.M. draws membership from only the Backward and Scheduled castes.

REASONS FOR NON-MEMBERSHIP

It would be a matter of education if reasons for non-membership of student associations are investigated, when 89.35% of males and 98.66% of females refuse to be members. In all, I have presented seven reasons to students: lack of time, elders not allowing, friends not members, party politics in student associations, no liking, no attempts by student associations to enrol members, and others.

Table 70 gives the distribution of reasons for non-membership according to sex. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. How revealing it is that 46.47% of the male non-members and 24.82% of the female non-members state that they have not registered themselves as members because of "party politics in student associations". It is deplorable that parties have not spared even student associations. This is an illustration of what parties can do when they stoop to conquer; they madly and unscrupulously infiltrate in student associations; it is safe to generalise that they simply like to prostitute student associations for the realisation of their grand designs. It is a matter of satisfaction that at least these conscientious students have come to dislike intensely party politics in student associations. At this juncture, I would like to place on record the results of my investigation into student associations in Kolhapur. The said student associations are unavowedly affiliated to parties. Before independence the K.Z.V.S. functioned almost as an ancillary organisation of the Congress party but after independence its character is largely altered because there are both anti- and pro-Congress factions in it. However, it may be made clear that it is more inclined to anti-Congress parties as is evident from its involvement in the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement, the boundary dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore, and the Goa issue. The K.Z.Y.C. is reported to be affiliated to the All India Youth Congress which in its turn, though not directly affiliated to the Congress party, basks in its smiles. The K.D.V.U.M. is reported to have warm and high regard for the Republican party of India but does not indulge much in active politics. Thus, it becomes explicit and convincing that there is party politics in student associations which are not purely dedicated to the amelioration of student community. Evidently, females have less of this experience—party politics in student associations—than of males. "Lack of time" deters 34.12% of the male and 35.17% of the female non-members from becoming members of student associations. They appear to be conscientious students as entering the ranks of student associations would handicap them from devoting effectively to their studies. This positively does not mean that they do not believe in student associations. I should say that they desire to remain outside the real student organisations as they may consider their "profession" incompatible with any over-rigorous commitment. There is not much of difference of opinion among males and females regarding this. There

are 22.50% of male and 11.72% of female non-members who grumble that student associations have "not made any efforts to enrol them as members"; hence they could not join student associations. This at once discovers the desire of these students to become members. It would not be out of place here to record the findings of my investigation into student associations in Kolhapur that these associations are not that active to attract a large number of students as members. Males complain against the inactivity of student associations more than females. 20.59% of the male and 31.03% of the female non-members have expressed their "dislike" for student associations; hence they are unable to register themselves as members. Females dislike student associations more than males. It means student associations have not succeeded in winning the confidence of a large number of females. It is interesting to note that 10% of male and 17.93% of female non-members state that they are not members because their "friends are not members". This is the proof of what friendship can do; it governs the behaviour of at least some students. Obviously, friendship influences the behaviour of females more than that of males. There are 3.08% of the male and 13.79% of the female non-members who are "not allowed by their elders" to become members. It means elders of these students appear to be scrupulous as they desire to keep their wards away from student associations. Females are prohibited more than males. In the end, it may be observed that the reasons stated by students are not insurmountable except "no liking". Had the difficulties mentioned by students been eliminated they would have become members of student associations.

SYMPATHY FOR STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS

Since the majority of students are not members it would be instructive to learn of their sympathies for student associations. This would disclose not only the popularity of student associations but also the political leanings of students. Table 71 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 54.39% and of the 150 females, 42% have expressed their sympathies for student associations. This immediately shows that the large number of students are not totally unconcerned with student associations. The fact that they have sympathies directs one to maintain that they are in the know of student associations; otherwise they would not have been in a position to extend their sympathies. The comparatively lower percentage of the female sympathisers may be attributed to the fact that student associations have failed in winning over females in large number.

A close view of the table shows that out of the 414 male sympathisers, 82.59% and 17.38%; and of the 63 female sympathisers, 87.28% and 12.69% have sympathies for one student association, and for more than one student association respectively. It is clear that 17.38% of male and 12.69% of female sympathisers are divided in their sympathies for student associations; their sym-

pathies are not simply definitized for one student association. This is more true of males than of females.

A detailed break-up of the table further reveals sympathies of the male and the female sympathisers for one student association. Out of the 342 male and of the 55 female sympathisers for one student association, the highest percentage of the males (79.82%) and the females (72.72%) has sympathies for the K.Z.V.S. This at once and categorically demonstrates the top-most popularity of this organisation among both males and females. It may, I should think, safely be inferred that the largest number of males and females are attracted towards this association which has been an instrument of anti-Congress parties. It is superfluous to say that females are not as much sympathetic towards this association as males. The K.Z.V.C. has 19% of the male and 27.27% of the female sympathisers. This association which clandestinely owes allegiance to the Congress party does not get sympathies of a large number of students. It goes without saying that this association enjoys the confidence of females more than that of males. It is clearly discernible that the K.D.V.U.M. has 1.17% of the male sympathisers only. This immediately floodlights its low popularity among students.

A facultywise consideration of the sample discloses that the highest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the arts faculty (62.22%). This is demonstrative of the fact that males of this faculty have more interest in student associations than their counterparts in other faculties. The law faculty attracts 57.89% of the male sympathisers. It is apparent that males of this faculty evince considerable interest in student associations. Males of the post-graduate classes (57.27%) and of the commerce faculty (55.12%) seem to be almost unanimous in their sympathies for student associations. The science faculty secures sympathies of comparatively lower percentage of males (45.85%). The lowest percentage of the male sympathisers is from the agriculture faculty (41.17%). In respect of females it is discernible that the highest percentage of the female sympathisers (75%) hails from the post-graduate classes. This shows how the highly educated females have interest in student associations. It is interesting that the percentage of the female sympathisers from the science faculty (48.39%) is higher than the percentage of the female sympathisers from the arts (40.36%) and the commerce (20%) faculties. It is worth noting that the percentage of the female sympathisers from the science faculty is higher than that of the male sympathisers. A female from the agriculture faculty does not extend her sympathies to any student association. In the end, it may be observed that faculty does not markedly govern sympathies of males and females because students of almost every faculty have unreservedly expressed their sympathies for student associations.

Table 72 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students 57.40% and of the 472 urban students, 47.67% have sympathies for student associations. Obviously, the large number

of students from both rural and urban places extend their sympathies to student associations. This displays their interest in and knowledge about student associations. However, it is seen that there is a wide disparity between the percentages of the rural and the urban sympathisers. This may be attributed to the deep interest of rural students in student associations. It is surprising that even in respect of sympathies for the student associations, rural students have more interest in them than their colleagues in urban places.

A close examination of the sample shows that out of the 252 rural sympathisers, 82.53% and 17.45% ; and of the 225 urban sympathisers, 83.99% and 15.99% have sympathies for one student association and for more than one association respectively. It is observable that sympathies of 82.53% of the rural and 83.99% of the urban sympathisers have been definitized for one student association. It means they have positively come to owe their allegiance to one student association only ; they do not have preferential considerations for student associations. In the end, it may be placed on record that this decisiveness is slightly more noticeable among urban students than among rural students.

A detailed break-down of the table further reveals sympathies of the rural and the urban sympathisers for one student association. Out of the 208 rural sympathisers 82.69% have sympathies for the K.Z.V.S. and of the 108 urban sympathisers 74.60% extend their sympathies to the K.Z.V.S. This at once discloses the top-most popularity of the K.Z.V.S. among both rural and urban students. Thus a big majority of students from rural and urban places have interest in the K.Z.V.S. All the same, it is noticeable that the K.Z.V.S. is more popular among rural students than among urban students. The K.Z.V.S. attracts 15.86% of the rural and 24.86% of the urban sympathisers. It goes without saying that this association is more popular among urban students than among rural students. The K.D.V.U.M. draws almost negligible percentages of the rural (1.44%) and the urban (0.52%) sympathisers. It is needless to say that the K.D.V.U.M. is more popular among rural students than among urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that the large number of students of every caste from rural and urban places have expressed their sympathies for student associations ; hence it would be safe to observe that caste does not influence sympathies of students. A close view of the sample further shows that the K.Z.V.S. and the K.Z.Y.C. have sympathies of almost all castes from rural and urban places. It is only the K.D.V.U.M. that gets sympathies of only the Backward and Scheduled castes from rural places ; and only one urban Maratha has obliged it. It is seen that one Neo-Buddhist student from rural places, and one Backward and Scheduled castes student from urban places have reserved their opinion. Clearly, they have adopted neutral posture in expression of their sympathies for student associations.

Chapter Six

ELECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

It is a truism that in the last analysis sovereignty rests with the people who have the ultimate authority to determine the form and functions of the government. But in modern times direct democracy is not feasible; therefore, people as a whole are directly and effectively associated with the government through the representative system. Every democratic state holds elections periodically to choose its rulers. An election is a grand occasion for people to assert their sovereignty; even it has become a plebiscite to decide whether one party or another shall be authorised to govern the country.

This chapter discusses whether students were voters and/or canvassers at the last General Elections. Students are asked whether they contested any elections, have liking to contest them, and their liking for elections is also tapped. Their views on the bases of elections are examined, and various elements in elections noticed by them are observed. This would spotlight their involvement in elections, and their political alignments and aspirations would be clearly discernible. Lastly, their views on elections would be discovered. All this will eventually reveal their political maturity.

VOTING

Political rights are possessed by persons whom the state permits to share in the legal expression and administration of its sovereign power. They are exercised by voting or by serving as an official of the state. Not every one living in a state is given the right to vote but the trend is towards universal suffrage.

Table 73 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 10.64% and of the 150 females, 2% have reported that they were voters at the last General Elections (1962). It is not surprising that the percentages of the male and female voters are quite meagre; the low percentages of the voters are explainable with reference to the age-groups of students. The lower percentage of the female voters indicates that they are comparatively younger in age than males.

A detailed break-up of the table gives the distribution of votes partywise. To understand rightly the distribution of votes partywise, it would be worthwhile to recall that the political situation in Maharashtra rapidly changed after the formation of the Maharashtra State on May 1, 1960. The formidable all-party alliance (the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti) turned out to be a mere apple-cart

of the Communist Party, the Peasants and Workers Party, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Lal Nishan Gat, and the Republican party (Bhandare faction). The parties which entered in the election arena in 1962 were the Congress party, the Samiti, the P.S.P., the Jan Sangh, the Socialist party, the Nag Vidharbha Andolan Samiti, the Republican party (Kamble faction), and the Swatantra party. In addition to these parties, there were a number of Independents and rebel Congressmen. It may be mentioned here that I have not treated the two factions in the Republican party separately, and the Nag Vidharbha Andolan Samiti is not embodied in the questionnaire. Out of the 81 male voters, the highest percentage of the males (46.93%) has voted for the Congress party. This at once discloses the top-most popularity of the Congress party among students (males). This was because the ushering in of the Maharashtra State proved to be a turning point in the politics in Maharashtra. The 1962 General Elections were generally looked upon as a popular ratification of the decision to set up a unilingual Maharashtra State. It was felt that the Congress party was instrumental in securing the unilingual State. The Congress party was on the offensive compared to its defensive posture in 1957. The Opposition was in a demoralised state. The Samiti was, no doubt, still functioning but with a greatly reduced strength and a fast declining prestige. It had lost much of its emotional appeal to the common man. Despite this, next to the Congress party, the Samiti succeeded in winning over 35.80% of the male voters. Thus, the performance of the Samiti was not as bad as that of the other opposition parties : the P.S.P. could attract 4.94% of the male voters, the Jan Sangh got votes of 2.47% of the male voters and the Swatantra party polled 1.23% of the male voters. It is seen that the Independents were obliged by 3.70% of the male voters. In respect of females, it is noticeable that the Congress party, the P.S.P., and the Independents got 33.33% (one female voter) of the female votes each. In the end, it is observable that it is only the Congress party that is most popular among both males and females. Obviously, females have not voted for the Samiti, the Jan Sangh, and the Swatantra party. It is instructive to note that the Socialist party is not at all in the good books of males and females as it failed to get a single vote.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male voters is from the law faculty (63.15%) ; and 50% of the male voters report that they are from the post-graduate classes. Evidently, it may be generalised that the average age of males from the law faculty is higher than that of males from the post-graduate classes. There are 11.87% of the male voters who hail from the arts faculty ; 7.69% of the male voters belong to the commerce faculty ; and 5.88% of the male voters are claimed by the agriculture faculty. The lowest percentage of the male voters is from the science faculty (1.58%). On the whole, it may be placed on record that a large number of the male voters are from the law faculty and the post-graduate classes. This is very much in consonance with their age. The percentage of the male voters from the arts faculty is higher than that of the male voters from the commerce, the agriculture and the science faculties. It is safe to say that the average age of males of the

arts faculty is higher than that of males of the commerce, agriculture, and science faculties. Plainly, the percentage of the male voters from the commerce faculty is higher than that of the male voters from the agriculture faculty. It is superfluous to point out that those joining the science faculty are very much young in years as is obvious from the percentage of the male voters from this faculty. As regards females, it is seen that one female voter belongs to the arts faculty, other is from the commerce faculty, and the last one is claimed by the post-graduate classes.

Table 74 gives the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 12.75% and of the 472 urban students, 5.93% were voters at the General Elections. The high percentage of the rural voters may be explained with reference to the age-group of rural and urban students.

A further examination of the table shows that out of the 56 rural voters and of the 28 urban voters the highest percentages of the rural (44.65%) and urban (46.42%) voters are claimed by the Congress party. It means that this party is most popular among rural and urban areas. However, it may be pointed out that it is slightly more popular among urban places than among rural areas. It is interesting to note that the Samiti has polled more votes in rural areas (41.62%) than in urban places (28.76%). The P.S.P. has attracted more urban voters (10.71%) than rural voters (3.57%). It may be generalised that this party is more popular among urban places than among rural areas. It is apparent that the Jan Sangh has succeeded in securing more votes of the urban voters (3.27%) than that of the rural voters (1.78%). The Swatantra party gets only one rural voter (1.78%). Independents are obliged more by the urban voters (7.14%) than by the rural voters (1.78%). The Socialist party seems to be discredited by rural as well as urban students as it has failed to attract even a single voter. In the overall context, it is safe to observe that in the General Elections of 1962 the Congress party and the Samiti were the important contenders for power.

A castewise treatment of the table shows that there are voters from almost all castes from rural and urban places. Though there is not much that could be commented upon in respect of the castewise treatment of the sample, it may broadly be observed that the percentages of the Maratha, the Backward and Scheduled castes, the Neo-Buddhist, the Muslim, and the Christian voters are considerably higher than that of the Brahmins. The disparity between the percentages is attributable to their age-groups. The Congress party and the Samiti draw the voters from a large number of castes but the Jan Sangh lives only on the votes of the Brahmins. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that the Jan Sangh is identified with the Brahmins.

REASONS FOR VOTING

After knowing the exact number of the male and female voters, it would be advisable to examine the motive force behind its voting. This would at any rate flood-light its political maturity. In all, I have offered ten reasons to students: fascinating personality of the candidate, caste and/or religion of the candidate, party programme of the candidate, celebrated leaders in the party of the candidate, relation with the candidate, suggested by others, forced by others, election propaganda, out of self conviction, and other.

Table 75 gives the distribution of the reasons for voting according to sex (males). Since the number of the female voters is negligible, the distribution of the reasons for its voting is not shown in the table. I have treated below the percentages of males in the descending order. Out of the 81 male voters, 48.16%—the highest percentage—have exercised their franchise "out of self-conviction". It goes without saying that there is no external pressure that coerces them into voting. They have voted willingly and voluntarily. It is their sheer personal conviction that has motivated them to vote. There are 37.05% of the male voters who report that the reason for their voting is "party programme". Plainly, these males are influenced by party programmes. It would not be wrong to infer that a large number of males do read party programmes, and make up their mind. It clearly means that a large number of students (males) are in the know of party positions. Presence of "the celebrated leaders in the party of the candidate" has won over 30.86% of the male voters. In party politics leaders are as much significant as party programme. They are the helmsmen of party system; hence a party without leader would be like a vessel without rudder. In view of this, sheer presence of the illustrious leaders in the party not only elevates its repute but also allures considerable number of electors. It may rightly be commented that a large number of students (males) are conversant with both party programme, and leaders. "The fascinating personality of the candidate" has successfully influenced 23.46% of the male voters to vote. It is crystal clear that besides party programme and reputed leaders, the candidate himself should possess a personality that could command votes of the people; the name of the party alone will not help the candidate. It is interesting to note that kinship which was one of the factors that brought about the State, plays a role, though insignificant, in the present politics as is obvious from the fact that 8.64% of the male voters have voted because of their "relation with the candidate". It is deplorable that the consideration of kinship should impel these students (males) to vote. This is a proof of how blood-ties, in case of some students, are stronger than the ideologies. There are 6.15% of the male voters who state that they have voted because of the consideration of "the caste and/or religion of the candidate". There are two things here that deserve treatment: first, the caste and/or religion appeal to some credulous people; and secondly, caste and/or religion patriotism of some bigoted people is prostituted by the parties to translate their grand designs into practice. This is the evidence of how parties

know no scruples when they stoop to conquer. It is worthwhile to note that "suggestions by others" influence the political behaviour of students as is evident from the statement of 2.47% of the male voters that they have exercised their right to vote because of suggestions by others. This is clearly an indication of their sheep-mentality : they simply yield to suggestions of others! 2.47% of the male voters disclose that they were "forced to vote". It is despicable that of all the means of winning over voters parties resort to force to swell the number of voters. It may, I think, be generalised that elections are not fair in our country. Propaganda is an effort to sell the party programme in order to win over the maximum number of voters. It is indeed surprising that only 1.23% of the male voters cast their votes on account of "the election propaganda". It is a matter of gratification that students do not fall prey to the winning and vigorous propaganda of parties ; they are not influenced by it. It means they are in the know of party affairs, hence they do not require any "political education" at the time of elections ; they are themselves the judges of political happenings and affairs. As regards the female voters it can be seen that out of three voters, two have voted because of "the fascinating personality of the candidate": and "the presence of the celebrated leaders in the party of the candidate" has attracted two female voters. One female reports that she has voted because "the candidate happens to be her relation". It may be summed up in the end that a large number of students exercise their franchise because of "the self-conviction", "the presence of the celebrated leaders in the party of the candidate", "party programme", and "the fascinating personality of the candidate".

CANVASSING

Elections could be considered as a huge experiment in mobilising public opinion. It is at the time of elections that the interest of the majority of the people in politics is aroused dynamically. The contesting parties employ every means at their disposal to project their images and distort the images of the opponents. In their bid to capture the minds of the people many techniques are used freely and unscrupulously. A variety of traditional and modern techniques used by them for reaching the voter and impressing him are not treated here separately ; only an attempt is made to learn of the involvement of students in electioneering

CANVASSING AT THE ELECTIONS

Table 76 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 52.83% and of the 150 females, 14.67% report that they have canvassed at various elections. It is as clear as sunlight that more than half of males and comparatively less number of females are involved in elections. Elections seem to be a great attraction that drags more students—especially males—than the other party activities as is obvious from Tables 57 and 58 (see page 61). This is once more a proof of how parties in their madness to seize power

allure students into electioneering and use them as a tool. The involvement of students in elections is indeed deplorable. A comparatively lower percentage of the female canvassers may be considered as suggestive of their moderate interest in elections or it may be attributed to social taboos that inhibit them from actively associating with elections.

A detailed composition of the table displays the number of canvassers canvassing at the various elections. On learning the number of the male and female canvassers it is, further, envisaged to pinpoint their involvement in the various elections. This will also indicate the popularity of the various elections among students. In all, the names of six elections are presented to students: General Elections, Municipal Elections, Zilla Parishad Elections, Taluka Panchayat Samiti Elections, Gram Panchayat Elections, and other. I have considered below the percentages of males and females in the descending order. Out of the 402 male canvassers and of the 22 female canvassers, the highest percentage of the males (68.66%) and females (50%) canvass during the "General Elections". It goes without saying that the General Elections involve the largest number of males and females; further, it is pertinent to state that they are most popular among students. Evidently, females are not involved in the General Elections to the extent to which males are. "Municipal Elections" engage considerably high percentage of the male (34.08%) and female (50%) canvassers. It is plain that next to the General Elections the Municipal Elections rope in a large number of male and female canvassers. It is seen that males are not as much involved in the Municipal Elections as females. This may be explained with reference to the place of origin of males and females. A majority of females come from urban places; hence their percentage is higher than that of males. 33.08% of the male and 4.54% of the female canvassers state that they have canvassed during the Gram Panchayat Elections. It is markedly noticeable that the Gram Panchayat Elections engage more student canvassers—especially males—than the Zilla Parishad Elections, and the Taluka Panchayat Samiti Elections. It obviously means that the Zilla Parishad and Taluka Panchayat Samiti Elections are not much popular among students. A lower percentage of the female canvassers is not contrary to the experience because almost all females are urban dwellers. There are 32.59% of the male and 9.09% of the female canvassers who report that they have canvassed in the Zilla Parishad Elections. A meagre percentage of the female canvassers is attributable to the fact that there are few females who hail from rural places. The Taluka Panchayat Elections got 11.19% of the male canvassers only. It is discernible that the Taluka Panchayat Samiti Elections could involve but the least number of male canvassers. It obviously means that they do not have much of appeal and attraction to students; and in case of females they have failed totally.

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male canvassers (61.50%) hails from the arts faculty. Evidently, the largest number of males of the arts faculty are involved in elections. It may be placed

on record that the percentage of the male canvassers (58.82%) from the agriculture faculty is next to that of the arts faculty. This indicates the extent to which males of this faculty are involved in elections. It is noteworthy that those prosecuting higher studies engage themselves in election campaigns as is obvious from the statement of 57.90% of the male canvassers from the post-graduate classes. It may be said that the charge that highly educated people do not take to active politics seems to be meaningless. There is no marked difference between the percentages of the male canvassers from the law faculty (52.63%) and the commerce faculty (51.92%). It can be seen that the lowest percentage of the male canvassers is from the science faculty (42.69%). It goes without saying that the males of this faculty are not involved in elections to the extent to which the males of other faculties; or it may be said that they do not have as much interest in elections as males of other faculties. This may, I should believe, be attributed to their being primarily career-minded. In the end, it may be observed that more than half of males of every faculty except that of the science faculty are canvassers; it may be ventured to say that faculty does not markedly influence the behaviour of students (males). In respect of females, it is apparent that the percentages of the male canvassers are far higher than those of the female canvassers from every faculty, except that of the agriculture faculty. A female from the agriculture faculty reports that she has canvassed at the various elections. It may be noted that those taking higher education do not shut themselves away from active politics as is evident from the declaration of 25% of the female canvassers from the post-graduate classes. 20% of females of the commerce faculty are canvassers, while the percentage of the female canvassers from the science faculty is 16.13%; there are only 12.84% of females from the arts faculty who have associated themselves with canvassing.

Table 77 gives the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 58.54% and of the 472 urban students, 35.38% have canvassed at the various elections. It is noticeable that there is a wide gap between the two percentages. It may be ascribed to the fact that rural students are involved in elections on larger scale than urban students, or it may be said that rural students have more interest in elections than their counterparts from urban places. The waning interest of urban students should be placed on record taking into account their urban background, and the fact that urban places are generally the epicentre of political activities.

A detailed composition of the table shows the number of rural and urban canvassers involved in the various elections. Knowledge of involvement of rural and urban students in the various elections is considered useful. The percentages of the rural and urban canvassers at the various elections are considered below in the descending order. Out of the 257 rural canvassers, 66.15% and of the 167 urban canvassers, 70.06% report that they have canvassed during the General Elections of 1962. These are the highest percentages of the canvassers. It is apparent that it is the General Elections which alone involve the

largest number of urban and rural students. All the same, it may be borne in mind that urban students are more involved in the General Elections than their counterparts from rural areas. It would not be wrong to say that urban students have slightly more interest in the General Elections than rural students. The Municipal Elections allure 65.27% of the urban and 15.18% of the rural canvassers. It is quite in the fitness of things that the urban canvassers are involved in large numbers in the Municipal Elections. The glaring disparity between the two percentages is naturally attributable to the place of origin. Further, it is worth noting that some students from rural areas evince interest in the Municipal affairs. The Gram Panchayat Elections have engaged 50.58% of the rural and 2.39% of the urban canvassers. It is not at all surprising that the percentage of the rural canvassers is higher than that of the urban canvassers. Involvement of the urban canvassers in these elections is not at all ununderstandable because some city-dwellers have still agricultural interest in villages. It may be recorded that college students interest themselves actively in these elections. This may be treated as symbolic of the fact that these elections are keenly and spiritedly fought; they are simply all-absorbing. The Zilla Parishad Elections have attracted 46.3% of the rural and 8.33% of the urban canvassers. It is revealing that students—especially rural ones—do not have as much interest in the Zilla Parishad Elections as in the Gram Panchayat Elections. It is certainly not contrary to expectations that the percentage of the urban canvassers is considerably lower than that of the rural canvassers. The Taluka Panchayat Samiti Elections are patronised by 16.73% of the rural and 1.19% of the urban canvassers. It is crystal clear that these elections are not as much attended as other elections by the canvassers. Naturally, the percentage of the urban canvassers is far lower than that of the rural canvassers. In the end, it may broadly be observed that it is the General Elections that alone involve the largest number of both rural and urban canvassers. It is striking that next to the General Elections rural students associate themselves with the Gram Panchayat Elections but are not involved in large number in the Zilla Parishad and the Taluka Panchayat Samiti Elections. Plainly, these elections are not as yet much popular among rural students.

A castewise composition of the table shows the number of canvassers from every caste being involved in the various elections. A glance at the table conveys that the percentages of the rural canvassers from every caste are almost consistently higher than those of the urban canvassers from every caste. It can be seen that there are canvassers more or less from each caste. All the same, it may be noted that a Neo-Buddhist does not canvass; he remains aloof from the electioneering; his is a typical case of non-response and political neutrality. Broadly, it may be generalised that caste does not decidedly govern the course of action of students. It is worth recording that the percentages of the minority castes are considerably high. This is clearly indicative of the fact that the students of these castes participate in electioneering without any inhibitions. - In this context, the percentages of the Marathas, and Brahmins may be treated. The

percentages of the Brahmin canvassers are substantially lower than the percentages of the Maratha canvassers from both rural and urban areas. Further, the percentages of the Brahmins from both urban and rural areas are the lowest. This means that they are not as much interested in active politics as the non-Brahmins.

CANVASSING FOR PARTY

It is considered significant to examine the canvassing partywise as it would disclose the popularity of contesting parties; and political alignments and involvement of students. Canvassing for the independent candidates is also treated here.

Table 78 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. The distribution of the sample for females is not shown in the table. Out of the 402 male canvassers 89.55% and 10.45%; and of the 22 female canvassers, 81.82% and 18.18% report that they have canvassed for the parties and independent candidates respectively. It is discernible that a thumping majority of the male and female canvassers have stated to have canvassed for the parties. This could be taken as an indication of the popularity of party politics among students. It would not be incongruous to generalise that almost all the male and female canvassers have aligned staunchly with the parties as they rightly understand their role in a democratic state. In spite of this, it may be deplorably noted that the parties are undemocratically utilising students for the furtherance of their political ends. Exploitation of students by the parties should be discontinued forthwith and forever in the large interest of our democracy; they should be ascetically kept aloof from the active party politics. It is no exaggeration to state that the value of the independent legislator has reached nadir on account of party politics. All the same, it goes without saying that the independent candidates have succeeded in gathering but a few student canvassers. It may be noted with interest that the percentage of the female canvassers for the independent candidates is higher than that of the male canvassers.

In respect of faculty, there is nothing remarkable to say. However, it may be observed that the male canvassers of the law faculty and the female canvassers of the post-graduate classes dissociate themselves from canvassing for the independent candidates; and the females of the commerce faculty have not canvassed for the parties.

A detailed composition of the table shows the male and female canvassers canvassing for the parties. The names of the parties are not presented to students; they are asked to state the name of the party of the candidate they canvassed during the elections. I have treated below the percentages of the male and female canvassers in the descending order. Out of the 360 male and of the 18 female party-canvassers, the highest percentage of the males (38.33%) and

females (55.56%) has canvassed for the Congress party. Evidently, it is the Congress party which alone has attracted the largest number of the male and female canvassers. This is the sign of the top popularity of this party among students. But it is more popular among females than among males. It is a matter of instruction to notice that next to the Congress party, the Samiti could engage considerably high percentage of the canvassers, specially males (31.11%); the percentage of the female canvassers is 16.67%. It is a fact that both the Congress party and the Samiti have used student community for the realisation of their political dreams. It is clear that females have not as much warmly responded to the call of the Samiti as males. The P.S.P. is obliged by 4.47% of the male and 11.11% of the female canvassers. It is evident that this party is not as much popular among students as the Congress and the Samiti. However, it is more popular among females than among males. There are 4.17% of the male and 11.11% of the female canvassers who state that they have canvassed for the Jan Sangh. Like the P.S.P. the Jan Sangh too does not get much patronage from the student community but it receives more co-operation from female canvassers than from male canvassers. The Swatantra party has the lowest percentage of the canvassers: 0.83% of the male canvassers only. The Socialist party is ostracised by both male and female canvassers. On the whole, it may be observed that the percentages of the male and female canvassers for the parties other than the Congress and the Samiti are very much meagre. This is because the Congress and the Samiti were the real contenders for power.

Tables 79 and 80 give the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of the 257 rural canvassers, 90.27% and 9.73%: and of the 167, urban canvassers, 87.43% and 12.57% state that they have canvassed for the parties and independent candidates respectively. It is explicit that the percentage of the rural canvassers canvassing for the parties is higher than that of the urban canvassers. It evidently means that rural students are involved more in party politics than their counterparts from urban places. However, urban students evince more interest in the independent candidates than rural students.

A detailed break-up of the tables shows the rural and urban canvassers canvassing for the parties. Out of the 232 rural party canvassers and of the 146 urban party canvassers the highest percentage of the rural (40.09%) and urban canvassers (37.67%) has canvassed for the Congress party. Obviously, it is the Congress party which has alone engaged the largest number of the canvassers from both rural and urban areas. But it is worth noting that this party is not as much popular among urban canvassers as among rural ones. The Samiti is patronised by 28.45% of the rural canvassers and 33.55% of the urban canvassers. It is superfluous to say that the stand of the Samiti was better appreciated by urban students than by rural students. The P.S.P. has succeeded in alluring 5.18% of the rural and 4.11% of the urban canvassers. It is apparent that this party lives more on the support of rural areas than on that of urban places. The Jan Sangh has collected 4.31% of the rural and 4.79% of the urban canvassers.

It is quite plain that this party gets almost the equal backing from both urban and rural areas. The Swatantra party has got but the lowest percentage of the canvassers from rural (0.43%) and urban (1.36%) places. In the end, it may broadly be generalised that the percentages of the rural and urban canvassers for the parties other than the Congress party and the Samiti are very much negligible owing to the fact that a real trial of strength was between the Congress party and the Samiti.

A castewise consideration of the sample reveals that a large number of students of every caste from urban and rural areas have canvassed for the parties. Thus, it may be said that participation in electioneering is not the monopoly of any one or few castes; all are grazing without fear in the pasture of politics. All the same, there is only one exception to this: a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas is not a canvasser; he may be considered as a typical case of non-response. It is the Congress party and the Samiti that receive canvassers from almost all castes from rural and urban areas. It is seen that students of the Gujjars etc. and the Neo-Buddhist castes from both rural and urban areas do not canvass for the Congress party. Further, it is quite striking that only the Brahmins have canvassed for the Jan Sangh; it means this party is communal and lives on the support of one community alone. This is indeed unfortunate that the Jan Sangh has come to be identified with the Brahmins only.

REASONS FOR CANVASSING

An involvement of the students in electioneering is established; it is but useful to examine reasons that have influenced them to canvass. This would, I should believe, elucidate the political ripeness of students. I have presented fourteen alternative reasons to students to enable them to indicate their choice: for fun, paid, promised service, party programme, personality of the candidate, celebrated leaders in the party, related to the candidate, caste and/or religion of the candidate, friends canvass, personal benefit, out of sheer self-conviction, to become leader, social service, and others.

Table 81 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex. I have treated below the percentages of male and female canvassers in the descending order. Out of the 402 male and of the 22 female canvassers, the highest percentage of the males (38.81%) and females (31.81%) has been motivated to canvass because of "party programme". This is a clear evidence of how party programme is significant in attracting considerable number of the canvassers. It would not be, I should think, preposterous to draw the generalisation that the majority of students have the requisite knowledge of party programmes. Clearly, females do not as much value party programme as males. There are 32.09% of the male and 22.72% of the female canvassers who specify that they have canvassed "out of their conviction". It is discernible that these students are not goaded into canvassing by any external coercions; they are impelled to solicit

votes for parties. This is largely true of males than of females. It is quite interesting that the presence of "the celebrated leaders in the party" claims 31.09% of the male and 13.63% of the female canvassers. It is not unconvincing to maintain that besides party programme, party leaders are also prominently influential; party is certainly known by the leaders it has. It is worth noting that females are not as much moved by the presence of the celebrated leaders in the party as males. It is explicit that "the personality of the candidate" captivates 23.38% of the male and 18.18% of the female canvassers. It clearly signifies that besides party programme and leaders, the personality of the candidate himself matters fairly; therefore, it is not presumptuous to say that a contestant should have a good personality. It is indeed striking that females have not fallen prey to the personality of the candidate to the extent to which males have. It is distinct that 13.93% of the male and 9.08% of the female canvassers are inspired to solicit votes by the sense of "social service". Howsoever lofty their motive is, it is amusing that canvassing is treated as identical with social service. This is largely true of males. It may seriously be viewed that 12.19% of the male and 18.18% of the female canvassers have participated in canvassing just "for fun". A conclusion easily follows from this that apart from deciding the destinies of the contesting parties elections furnish revelry and merrymaking to some. The higher percentage of the female canvassers may be attributed to their festive nature. It may be noted cautiously that blood-ties are stronger than political bonds; for 10.45% of the male and 18.18% of the female canvassers have taken part in soliciting votes as they are "related to the candidate". These students brazen-facedly owe their loyalties to kinsmen. This is indeed regrettable that the political behaviour is prejudiced by the narrow considerations of kin patriotism. Evidently, females are influenced more by this sense than males. There are 8.46% of the male and 18.18% of the female canvassers who disclose the reason for their canvassing as the "caste and/or religion of the candidate". It is extremely disappointing that the caste and/or religious considerations weigh triumphantly on the minds of these students and chart the course of their action. It is indeed unfortunate that caste and/or religion have place in our electioneering; this will, I am sure, debilitate our infant democracy in the long run. Females suffer more from this malignant disease than males. Immaturity of 6.47% of the male and 9.08% of the female canvassers becomes apparent from their statement that they have canvassed because their "friends have canvassed". This is the best illustration of what association can do. Females are more vulnerable to the influences of friendship than males. Political ambition of 3.23% of the male canvassers only is very much in evidence as they specify that they have canvassed with a view "to become leader". It appears that there is some misunderstanding among some students that participation in canvassing would make them leaders. 2.96% of the male canvassers only have ulterior motive behind canvassing; they have done it merely "for personal benefit". It is shocking to record that the reason for canvassing of 0.74% of the male canvassers only is that they are "paid". On whatever scale this is practised or detected it must be despised. The statement of 1.49% of the male canvassers only is revealing

because they are prompted to canvass as they have been "promised service". This is plainly suggestive of how parties attract the needy citizens into party affairs. It is logical to generalise that parties in their efforts to build majority in the legislature would do anything conceivable. In the end, it may be observed that major reasons behind canvassing of the large number of the canvassers are: "party programme", "out of self-conviction", "the presence of the celebrated leaders in the party", and "the personality of the candidate".

DESIRE TO CONTEST ELECTIONS

Political rights are the very foundation of a democratic party. They provide the people with channels of direct access to the sources of authority. The right to stand for election is a corollary to the right to vote. Every democratic state endows its citizens with the privilege of contesting election to the legislature. A question: do you desire to contest election? is thoughtfully put to the students in order to learn whether they have political aspirations.

Table 82 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 48.48% and of the 150 females, 26% explicitly desire to contest elections. It is an indisputable proof that these students are politically ambitious; given an opportunity they would certainly contest elections. It is indeed ruinous that these students cherish the dream of contesting elections during their college life instead of devoting themselves fully to studies. It is, I should think, safe to say that political life appears so provokingly alluring that they irresistibly long for it; hence they aspire to contest elections! The higher percentage of males indicates that they are politically more ambitious than females. However, it would be a sheer folly to underrate the comparatively lower percentage of females for the simple fact that they are gradually and increasingly occupying many a high political office. Non-response to this question is almost negligible—1.18% of males and 1.33% of females have not specified their desire.

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male aspirants is from the law faculty (57.89%). This is very much in harmony with our broad observation that most of the leaders are lawyers by training; so it is no wonder at all that the large number of the prospective lawyers set their heart on political career. There are 50.73% of the male aspirants from the arts faculty; while 50% of the male aspirants hail from the post-graduate classes. It is observable that half of the arts students (males)—viewing together the percentages of the male aspirants from the arts faculty and the post-graduate classes—desire very much to be in corridors of power. It is interesting to note in particular that the large number of those prosecuting higher studies are ardently keen to embrace public life. The percentage of the male aspirants (49.35%) from the commerce faculty approximates the percentages of the male aspirants from the arts faculty and the post-graduate classes. It is surprising that almost half of the males of the commerce faculty wish to enter the public

life instead of devoting themselves to commercial enterprises. It is enlightening to notice that a sizable number of males (46.64%) from the science faculty desire to contest elections. It may be generalised that not all the science students (males) are necessarily career-minded. The agriculture faculty has the lowest percentages of the male aspirants (35.29%). In respect of females, it is seen that the percentages of the female aspirants from every faculty are lower than those of the male aspirants from every faculty; further, a female of the agriculture faculty does not wish to fight elections. The highest percentage of the female aspirants is from the commerce faculty (60%). Next to this faculty the science faculty has 38.71% of the female aspirants. It is explicit that the percentage of the female aspirants from this faculty is higher than those of the female aspirants from the arts faculty (21.10%) and the post-graduate classes (25%). In the end, it may be observed that faculty does not markedly influence political ambitions of students.

Table 83 gives the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 52.39% and of the 472 urban students, 38.38% desire to contest elections. The wide gap between the two percentages is worth noting; how evident it is that rural students are more politically ambitious than their counterparts from urban places. It is indeed ununderstandable as to why urban students evince less interest in political life; may be they are more career-minded than rural students.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that 'rural and urban students in large number from almost all castes wish to contest elections; only a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas is not at all desirous of contesting elections. A close view of the table discloses that the percentages of the rural aspirants are almost consistently higher than those of the urban aspirants from every caste. The percentages of the rural and urban aspirants from the minority castes: the Brahmins, the Jains, the Gujars etc., the Lingayats, the Intermediate Hindus, the Backward and Scheduled Castes, the Muslims, and the Christians are considerably high. The percentages of the rural aspirants from the Jains (62.50%), the Muslims (60%), and the Christians (100%) castes are much higher than that of the Maratha aspirants (54%), while the percentages of the urban aspirants from the Jains (41.17%), the Lingayats (66.66%), the Intermediate Hindus (44%), the Backward and Scheduled Castes (50%) and the Muslims (50%) are much higher than that of the Maratha aspirants (38.79%). It convincingly proves the point that the minority castes are more politically ambitious than the Maratha caste. All the same, it must be placed on record that the percentages of the Brahmin aspirants from both rural (50.68%) and urban (35.46%) areas are lower than those of the Maratha aspirants. It clearly means that the Brahmins are not as much politically ambitious as the Marathas. The lowest percentages of the aspirants belong to the Gujars etc. from both rural (14.28%) and urban (20%) places. This shows how least interest they have in elections. In the end, it may be observed that caste does not markedly influence the political aspirations of students.

ELECTIONS: BASES AND ATTITUDES

Elections are contested on party programme and principles. All the same, influences of the other issues and external considerations can be seen. With this in view a set of four questions: Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7 (from the fifth section of the questionnaire) with alternative answers has been put to students, however, for question No. 7, I have not furnished alternative answers. Questions Nos. 4 and 5 are meant to gain information about the students' understanding of the bases of elections. Questions Nos. 6 and 7 are devised to measure their attitudes or mental reactions to the techniques of electioneering and elections. I feel their political maturity will be revealed from the ratings they give to the answers offered, and their likes and dislikes for elections will also be disclosed.

ELECTIONS TO LOCAL BODIES

Local bodies signify Municipality, Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, and Gram Panchayat. It is thought that the study of elections to these bodies separately is superfluous because they are quite local in their character. Question No. 4 deals with elections to the local bodies; it structurally corresponds to question No. 5—answers furnished to students are common: party programme, non-party principles, caste and/or religion, local issues, provincial issues, national issues, international issues, personal prestige, and other.

Tables 84 and 85 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 98.81% and of the 150 females, 93.33% have answered this question. Response to this question is quite warm; but the response of females is not comparatively as warm as that of males.

A detailed composition of the tables shows the male and female reporters indicating the alternative answers presented. Their percentages are considered below in the descending order. Out of the 752 male and of the 140 female reporters the highest percentages of the males (51.60%) and females (49.28%) hold the view that elections to the local bodies should be contested on the basis of "local issues": Local bodies are devised, among other things, to attend to local affairs locally; naturally, local problems occupy first and foremost place. In view of this, it is gratifying to note that the majority of the reporters rightly opine that elections to the local bodies should be fought on local issues. It goes without saying that males attach comparatively more importance to local issues than females. There are 39.90% of the male and 32.14% of the female reporters who plead that elections to the local bodies should be fought on the basis of "personal prestige". In local affairs prestige of the candidates does matter; by all accounts, men of integrity, it is noticeable, win public confidence—individuals rather than ideology play an important part. It is evident that males value personal prestige more than females 38.03% of the male and 38.57% of the female reporters are of the opinion that elections to the local bodies should be fought on "non-party

principles". This is in harmony with some people's thinking that parties should keep themselves away from the local bodies. Comparatively higher percentages of the male and female reporters holding this view may be attributed to their bitter experience of party politics in the local bodies. The male and female reporters are almost unanimous on this point. Whether one likes it or not parties are well entrenched in local bodies; consequently, 29.79% of the male and 18.57% of the female reporters think that elections to the local bodies should be contested on "party programme". It means a sizable section of the student community favours party politics in the local bodies. This is largely true of males. There are 21.94% of the male and 15.71% of the female reporters who hold the view that elections to the local bodies should be fought on "national issues". Though local bodies are mainly meant to devote themselves to local affairs they are not wholly isolated from national problems: they cannot afford to totally remain away from the mainstream of national life. Besides, entrance of parties in local bodies necessitates the consideration of national issues. It is apparent that a large number of students are against bringing in national issues in elections to the local bodies. All the same, males are comparatively more eager to fight elections on national issues than females. 20.21% of the male and 19.28% of the female reporters opine that elections to the local bodies should be contested on "provincial issues". It is a common experience that provincial issues affect local affairs: regional patriotism prompts local politicians to cash in on regional problems. This is evident from the Samyukta Maharashtra Movement. It is a matter of happiness that a large number of students are opposed to provincial issues being exploited in elections to the local bodies. The male and female reporters are almost of one mind on this point. It may be recorded that in elections to the local bodies provincial and national issues receive almost the same degree of ratings from the male reporters; in respect of the female reporters a slight disparity between the two ratings is noticeable. It is really not encouraging to note that 9.30% of the male and 8.57% of the female reporters express the opinion that elections to the local bodies should be contested on "international issues". Compared to the other ratings this may look fairly low. But actually in the context of the question, this only indicates the students' sense of proportion. In elections to the local bodies, really speaking, international affairs do not have any reference. Those who relate local issues to international situations appear to be fairly immature in their understanding. The male and female reporters almost agree on this point. It is clearly seen that the lowest percentage of the male (5.71%) and female (10%) reporters thinks that elections to the local bodies should be fought on the basis of "caste and/or religion". It is a matter of pride to record that majority of students are opposed quite democratically to fighting elections to the local bodies on the basis of caste and/or religion. It may be inferred that caste patriotism has not dawned upon these students. However, it may be stated here that utmost care should be taken to see that students do not fall prey to the corroding influence of caste and/or religion in future. It is indeed a revelation that females may be treated as more caste-minded than males as is evident from their higher percentage. In the end,

it may be observed that the majority of the reporters hold the view that elections to the local bodies should be fought on "local issues", "personal prestige" and "non-party principles". This indubitably means that students are fairly mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions about how elections to the local bodies should be fought. Obviously males are slightly more mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions than females.

Facultywise percentages of the male and female reporters are separately dealt with. I have treated below the reporters' percentages in the descending order. A glance at Table 84 shows that almost all males of every faculty have expressed their views about how elections to the local bodies should be fought. Hence, it would not be wrong to conclude that faculty does not restrain the freedom of expression and thought: cent per cent males of the law and agriculture faculties, and of the post-graduate classes are reporters, while 99.27% of males of the arts faculty, 98.71% of males of the commerce faculty, and 98.03% of males of the science faculty have given response to this question. Further, a close view of the table shows that the highest percentage of the male reporters of every faculty, except the agriculture faculty, attaches top importance to "local issues" in elections to the local bodies: the highest percentage of males of the agriculture faculty values "personal prestige" foremost. In respect of females, Table 85 conveys that almost all females of every faculty have opined how elections to the local bodies should be fought. Evidently, the freedom of expression of females is not restrained by faculty: cent per cent females of the science and agriculture faculties are reporters; while 92.65% of females of the arts faculty, 80% of females of the commerce faculty, and 75% of females of the post-graduate classes are reporters. A close view of the table reveals that the highest percentage of the female reporters of every faculty, except the commerce faculty, has high regards for "local issues" to fight elections to the local bodies.

Tables 86 and 87 give the distribution of the sample according to the caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 98.41% and of the 472 urban students, 97.69% are reporters. It is interesting to note that rural students have given more response to this question than their counterparts from urban places. Obviously, rural students have more interest in elections to the local bodies than urban students.

A detailed composition of the tables shows the rural and urban reporters indicating the alternative answers offered: their percentages are considered below in the descending order. Out of the 432 rural reporters, 48.61% and of the 461 urban reporters, 53.57% state that elections to the local bodies should be contested on "local issues". This at once reveals that both rural and urban students highly regard local issues in fighting elections to the local bodies. It is plain that urban students attach more importance to local issues than rural students. There are 45.83% of the rural and 31.88% of the urban reporters who are of

the opinion that elections to the local bodies should be fought on the basis of "personal prestige". This immediately discovers the fact that rural students have more regard for personal prestige than urban students: it appears that they are very much prestige-conscious. 38.89% of the rural and 37.31% of the urban reporters think that "non-party principles" should constitute the basis of appeal in elections to the local bodies. It is apparent that rural and urban students are almost unanimously appreciative of non-party principles. It is instructive to record that the percentages of the rural reporters (33.33%) which has regard for "party programme" is higher than the percentage of the urban reporters (22.99%): the lower percentage of the urban reporters may be, I should think, attributed to the fact that urban students do not as much realize the value of parties in elections to the local bodies as rural students. There are 21.06% of the rural and 19.08% of the urban reporters who hold the view that elections to the local bodies should be fought on "provincial issues"; while 21.99% of the rural and 19.95% of the urban reporters think that elections to the local bodies should be contested on "national issues". Obviously, the percentages of the rural reporters are higher than those of the urban reporters. It means rural students attach more importance to provincial issues and national issues in fighting elections to the local bodies than urban students. It may be placed on record that provincial issues and national issues receive almost the same rating from the rural reporters; the urban reporters too seem to be almost unanimous in their regard for provincial and national issues. It is a matter of gratification that "international issues" get quite low rating from both the rural (9.02%) and urban (9.33%) reporters: however, it is noticeable that they appear to be almost of one mind in this respect. 5.09% of the rural and 5.42% of the urban reporters opine that elections to the local bodies should be contested on the basis of caste and/or religion. It is clear that there is almost consensus of opinion among rural and urban students on this point. Further, it may be said that among the issues provided to students caste and/or religion receive the lowest rating from both the rural and urban reporters. This indicates that the majority of rural and urban students are opposed to caste and/or religion being exploited in elections to the local bodies. This is indeed a healthy and welcome development. In the end, it may broadly be observed that both rural and urban students in large number maintain that elections to the local bodies should be fought on "local issues", "personal prestige", and "non-party principles". This clearly implies that rural and urban students are fairly mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions about how elections to the local bodies should be contested. Obviously, rural students are slightly more mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions than urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that almost all rural and urban students of every caste have expressed their opinions about how elections to the local bodies be contested. Hence, it follows that caste does not restrain the freedom of expression and thought of rural and urban students; cent per cent rural students of Jain, Gujar, etc., Backward and Scheduled caste, Neo-Buddhist, Muslim and Christian castes; and all urban students from Gujar etc., Lingayat Back-

ward and Scheduled Caste, Muslim and Christian castes are reporters. Further, a close view of the tables shows that the largest number of rural and urban students from every caste offer highest ratings to "local issues", "personal prestige", and "non-party principles". In the end, it would be quite pertinent to conclude that students of every caste from both rural and urban areas are fairly mature in their thinking and responsible in expressions of their opinions.

THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

The General Elections signify elections to the Assemblies and Parliament. generally, elections to the assemblies and the parliament occur at the same time. The bases of elections to the assemblies and parliament are not separately dealt with though an elector may be guided by different considerations while voting. In this connection, the ratings offered by students to the various alternative answers would throw light on their understanding of the bases of elections and thereby on their political maturity.

Tables 88 and 89 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males 98.42% and of the 150 females, 94.67% have expressed their opinions regarding the bases on which the General Elections should be contested. On the whole, response to this question is quite warm and encouraging but the response of females is not comparatively as warm and encouraging as that of males.

A detailed break-up of the tables shows the male and female reporters pin pointing the alternative answers presented. Their percentages are treated below in the descending order. Out of the 749 male and of the 142 female reporters the highest percentage of the males (45.72%) and females (45.06%) states that the General Elections should be contested on 'national issues'. It is true that welfare of the citizens and thereby of the nation largely depends upon the settling of national issues : they are publicized, magnified and vulgarised by the power-crazy parties in order to gain maximum votes : consequently, they invariably dominate the General Elections. In view of this the highest percentage of the male and female reporters holding the above view is indeed not only commendable but also indicative of its political maturity ; it is a matter of pleasure to note in this connection that the male and female reporters are almost unanimous on this point. It may incidentally be mentioned that national issues get slightly more than double ratings in the General Elections than in elections to the local bodies. This reveals how rightly students comprehend the bases of elections. There are 44.18% of the male and 24.64% of the female reporters who maintain that the General Elections should be fought on "party programme". Parties always approach electors with their programmes which are nothing but the charts of their plans and projects for the welfare of nation. Moreover, party programmes could be treated, without any hyperbole, as looking glasses that mirror the full image of parties. Consequently, they occupy the zenithal place in elections. In this con-

text the high percentage of the male and female reporters expressing the above opinion should be viewed as both praiseworthy and demonstrative of its political ripeness; all the same, it is noticeable that the female reporters do not give as much significance to the party programme as the male reporters. It may be casually noted that party programme receives far more higher ratings in the General Elections than in elections to the local bodies. It clearly signifies that students do understand the bases on which elections to the different bodies should be contested. It is interesting and instructive to note that 33.10% of the male and 38.02% of the female reporters plead that the General Elections should be fought on "non-party principles". It follows from this that these students have expressed their "no-confidence" in parties and their affairs. This may be, I should believe, attributed to their unpalatable experience with party politics. It is indeed astonishing that females have larger share of this experience than males. Besides, it would certainly be a revelation to learn that the percentages for non-party principles are considerably higher in elections to the local bodies than in the General Elections. It means that students give more weightage to non-party principles in elections to the local bodies than in the General Elections. Though, in the context of the bases of elections, these students are very much right in their views, it may be placed on record, that they are consistently opposed to party politics in the General Elections and in elections to the local bodies. 33.10% of the male and 31.5% of female reporters hold the view that the General Elections should be contested on the basis of "personal prestige". It is apparent that a large number of students are guided by sheer personal prestige of the candidates than by any other considerations. In a party democracy candidates approach voters as the deputies of their party and contest elections on its programme and support but it has been made clear that party alone does not brighten the prospects of its candidates, for they themselves should have prestige in the eyes of electors. Interestingly, males have more regard for personal prestige than females: males appear to be rather prestige-conscious. Further, it is discernible that personal prestige is valued more highly in elections to the local bodies than in the General Elections: it means it does not as much matter in the General Elections as in elections to the local bodies. There are 32.04% of the male and 33.09% of the female reporters who state that the General Elections should be contested on "international issues". Though the frightful weapons of the atomic age, the deterioration of international relations, and the failure of the most powerful states to devise formulas for living together without the ever-present threat of war have forced us to attend to the problems of international life for our security, welfare, and indeed, our survival, it does not mean the General Elections should be fought on international issues only: however, international relations and especially the foreign policy are always discussed and debated during the General Elections. The high weightage received by international issues in the General Elections should be highly appreciated as it throws light on students' understanding of the bases of elections. Curiously, females have more regard for international issues than males. 11.33% of the male and 7.74% of the female reporters opine that the General Elections should be con-

tested on "provincial issues". Reorganisation of States on linguistic principle has indeed released the Jinn of Provincialism which has been affecting and afflicting the inter-State relations—even, it has been baffling the Union Government to effectively resolve some inter-State problems. Moreover, the all-India parties too cater to provincial problems with utter disregard to national interests. If provincialism is suffered to blossom in this fashion it will certainly disintegrate the very Union of India in the long run. However, it is encouraging to note that the majority of the male and female reporters are opposed to fighting the General Elections on provincial issues. But this virgin goodness of theirs should be shielded at all cost—their parochial provincial sentiments should never be inflamed to serve the party designs. Evidently, males are comparatively more provincial in their attitudes than females. Further, it is seen that the percentages for provincial issues are higher in elections to the local bodies, than in the General Elections—this is demonstrative of students' proper understanding of the bases of elections. There are 10.26% of the male and 7.04% of the female reporters who express the opinion that the General Elections should be fought on "local issues". In the General Elections, really speaking local issues do not have any place; therefore, those who hold the above view appear to be fairly immature in their understanding. Apparently, males have more regard for local issues than females. In this connection, it is worthwhile to record that the majority of the male and female reporters are opposed to contesting the General Elections on local issues. Besides, local issues have received the highest percentages of ratings from the male and female reporters in the elections to the local bodies; while in the General Elections they have almost the lowest percentages of ratings. This undoubtedly implies the students' proper understanding of the bases of elections. It can clearly be seen that the lowest percentage of the male (3.87%) and female (4.22%) reporters thinks that the General Elections should be contested on the basis of "caste and/or religion". It is indeed gratifying that the majority of the reporters—or it may be said that almost all—are opposed to fighting the General Elections on the basis of caste and/or religion. It follows from this that students do not suffer from the caste and/or communal patriotism. All the same, it may be said by way of exhortation that this pristine goodness of students should be kept up guardedly so that they will not be vulnerable to the corroding influence of caste and/or religion in future. This would, I should believe, better the quality of the working of our democracy eventually. The higher percentage of the female reporters may be treated as symbolic of their being comparatively more caste-minded than the male reporters. In this context, it may be noted that the percentages of the male and the female reporters desirous of exploiting their caste and/or religion in the elections to the local bodies and in the General Elections are the lowest; again, the percentages for caste and/or religion in the General Elections are lower than those in the elections to the local bodies. This once more elucidates the students' proper understanding of the bases of elections. In the end, it may be observed that the majority of the reporters express the opinion that the General Elections should be contested on "national issues", and "party programme".

This categorically indicates that students are fairly mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions about how the General Elections should be fought. Evidently males are slightly more mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions than females.

Facultywise percentages of the male and female reporters are separately dealt with : they are considered below in the descending order. A glimpse at Table 88 conveys that all males of every faculty, except the science faculty, have expressed their opinions about how the General Elections should be contested. Even the percentage of the male reporters of the science faculty is considerably high (95.26%). It is safe, therefore, to infer that faculty does not exert any restraint upon the freedom of expression and thought. Further, a close examination of the table displays that the largest number of the male reporters of the arts, law and agriculture faculties have the highest regard for "party programme"; while the biggest number of the male reporters of the science and commerce faculties, and of the post-graduate classes attach top importance to "national issues". In respect of females, Table 89 shows that all females of every faculty except the arts faculty, have expressed their views regarding how the General Elections should be contested. Even the percentage of the female reporters of the arts faculty (92.65%) is considerably high. It goes without saying that faculty does not restrain the freedom of expression and thought. Besides, a close view of the table reveals that the largest number of the female reporters of the arts, science and commerce faculties have expressed their highest regard for "national issues"; while the largest number of the female reporters of the post-graduate classes favour "party programme".

Tables 90 and 91 give the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of the 439 rural students, 98.64% and of the 472 urban students, 97.05% are reporters. Obviously, rural students have given more response to this question than their counterparts from urban areas. It is really instructive to place on record that even in the matter of expressing opinions urban students lag behind rural students.

A detailed break-down of the tables shows the rural and urban reporters indicating the alternative answers presented : their percentages are treated below in the descending order. Out of the 433 rural reporters, 48.03% and of the 458 urban reporters, 34.49%, state that the General Elections should be contested on "party programme". This means rural students attach far more importance to party programme than their colleagues from urban areas. The markedly and comparatively lower percentage of the urban reporters is indeed intriguing. There are 42.02% of the rural and 47.37% of the urban reporters who are of the opinion that the General Elections should be contested on "national issues". This at once elucidates the fact that urban students have more regard for national issues than rural students. 37.64% of the rural and 28.60% of the urban reporters maintain that "personal prestige" should constitute the basis of appeal in

the General Elections. Curiously, rural students value personal prestige more highly than urban students : they appear to be prestige-conscious. It is unequivocal that 33.25% of the rural and 34.49% of the urban reporters hold the view that the General Elections should be contested on "non-party principles". It is explicit that non-party principles attract slightly more protagonists from urban places than from rural areas. It may be said that urban students seem to have slightly more unpleasant experience with party politics than rural students. There are 30.02% of the rural and 34.27% of the urban reporters who express the opinion that the General Elections should be fought on "international issues". Evidently, urban students attach more importance to international issues than rural students ; this may be attributed to their background where the impact of international happenings reach earlier and linger longer. 12.24% of the rural and 9.38% of the urban reporters feel that the General Elections should be contested on "provincial issues". It is as clear as daylight that rural students have given higher rating to provincial issues than urban students : they appear to be slightly more provincial in their attitudes than their counterparts from urban areas. It is rather astonishing that 11.55% of the rural and 8.08% of the urban reporters opine that the General Elections should be contested on "local issues". This means a few students from both rural and urban places are very much influenced by local issues ; evidently, rural students are more influenced by local issues than urban students. It is worth recording that only 5.08% of the rural and 2.84% of the urban reporters hold the view that the General Elections should be fought on the basis of "caste and/or religion". Rural students appear to be little more caste-minded than urban students. Further, it is noticeable that among the bases of elections provided to students "caste and/or religion" receive the lowest weightage from both the rural and urban reporters. This undoubtedly means that the majority of rural and urban students are opposed to caste and/or religion being exploited in the General Elections. This is indeed a healthy and welcome development. In the end, it may be observed that the majority of the rural and urban reporters are of the opinion that the General Elections should be contested on "party programme" and "national issues". This clearly indicates that rural and urban students are fairly mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions than urban students.

A casewise treatment of the sample explicitly shows that almost all rural and urban students of every caste have expressed their views regarding how the General Elections should be contested. Hence, it may be concluded that caste and/or religion do not restrain the freedom of expression and thought of both rural and urban students : cent per cent of rural students from Jains, Gujars etc., Backward and Scheduled Castes, Neo-Buddhists, Muslims, and Christians are reporters ; while all urban students from Gujars etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled Castes, and Christians are reporters. Moreover, a close examination of the tables shows that the largest number of rural and urban students from every caste give highest weightage to "national issues" and "party programme". In the end, it would be relevant to generalise that

students of every caste from both rural and urban areas are fairly mature in their thinking and responsible in expression of their opinions.

THE SEAMY SIDE OF ELECTIONS

It is true answers to question No. 6 could not be taken to be precise or even reliably correct. Such a type of information is generally drawn from hearsay reports. Besides, in the questionnaire I have not devised any other questions, the answers to which might be used as a check on answers to them here. This question is asked to see merely if students have any awareness of the seamy side of elections and, if so, whether they believe in elections : the question regarding their faith in elections is put just below this question. I have offered five alternative answers to students : casteism and communalism, goondism and hooliganism, groupism, extravagance of money, and other.

Table 92 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 98.15% and of the 150 females, 94.67% have answered this question. It is clear as daylight that almost all students are aware of the seamy side of elections. It is indeed deplorable that the less presentable aspect of elections is discernible even to college students. It follows from this that elections are pervaded by unfair and undemocratic practices. If this is not denounced and eventually renounced people will come to distrust elections and consequently the representative type of government will be discredited and ultimately discarded. Obviously, females are not as much aware of the seamy side of elections as males.

A detailed composition of the table shows the various elements being indicated by the male and female reporters. I have treated below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 747 male reporters, 58.65% and of the 142 female reporters, 44.36% have seen "groupism" in elections. Even though the ideology and programme unite people together a monolithic unity in a party is not ensured because of internal factions struggling to dominate one another in order to seize its leadership : the contest for leadership within a party is universal in space and time ; it naturally operates in elections too. Groupism seems to be an influential feature of elections as it has attracted the attention of the largest number of the reporters, especially males. There are 56.10% of the male reporters and 50.70% of the female reporters who report that there is "an extravagance of money" in elections. This proves beyond a shadow of doubt that huge amounts of money are prodigalised quite disproportionate to the amount stipulated in the Representation of the People Act, 1951. It is, therefore, safe to conclude that electioneering in our country has become prohibitively expensive : only a Croesus can think of contesting elections : money being a power always buys commodities and services but it may also buy over electors : under the circumstances, a poor citizen thus comes to be deprived of his political rights. If this goes on unbridled, democracy, in the long run, it is feared, will cease to be a government of the people, by the people, and for the people :

it may finally give way to a demagogic plutocracy. Evidently, males have observed more extravagance of money in elections than females. "Goondaism and hooliganism" in elections have been noticed by 53.02% of the male and 34.51% of the female reporters. This undoubtedly means that goondaism and hooliganism seem to have become an integral part of the electioneering. This is an illustration of how parties, when they stoop to conquer, cast away all the canons of democratic life and unscrupulously resort to unfair practices to serve their designs. In this connection, it would not be an exaggeration to say that if a candidate is a son of a Kuber and collects some goondas and hooligans, his victory at the polls is almost ensured. The rampant prevalence of goondaism and hooliganism in elections frightens away many an intellectual; hence, the quality of democracy naturally deteriorates and that is why it is a government by the incompetents. Plainly, males have noticed more goondaism and hooliganism in elections than females. There are 40.97% of the male reporters and 42.25% of the female reporters who have observed "casteism and communalism" in elections. It is clear as crystal that casteism and communalism are prostituted brazenfacedly by the power-hungry parties to translate their dreams into reality. Further, it indicates that when the usual methods of propaganda fail to attract the large number of voters the casteist and communal sentiments of the people are invoked: indeed, man becomes primitive and barbarous on the question of caste and religion with utter disregard to the civil and democratic way of life. It is the irrefragable evidence that both the people and parties have not yet developed a democratic outlook. It may be said, in this context, that parties must set lofty democratic goals before the people: they must have clear vision of the future of the country and not be content with their victory and survival. The unholy alliance of casteism and communalism with politics is fraught with calamitous aftermath: it will finally ruin the democratic set-up in our country. It is apparent that females have observed casteism and communalism more than males. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end, that there can be no clean and orderly elections unless the parties taking part in them abide by the democratic rules whether they are put into a code or not. Besides, it may confidently be said that males and females are not passive spectators but active observers of the political affairs.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that all students of almost every faculty are aware of the seamy side of elections. It plainly means that faculty does not obstruct the observation of students: cent per cent of males of the law and agriculture faculties and of the post-graduate classes are in the know of the seamy side of elections; while 99.27% of males of the arts faculty, 98.71% of males of the commerce faculty, and 96.05% of males of the science faculty have seen the less presentable aspect of elections. In respect of females, it is explicit that cent per cent of females of the science, commerce and agriculture faculties, and of the post-graduate classes are aware of the seamy side of elections; while 92.65% of females of the arts faculty have the knowledge of it.

Table 93 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 98.63% and of the 472 urban students, 96.62% have answered this question. It is not an exaggeration to say that almost all rural and urban students are aware of the seamy side of elections. It appears that the use of undemocratic methods is universal in its operation : it does not suffer from the geographical considerations. It may be placed on record that rural students are slightly more in the know of the seamy side of elections than their counterparts from urban places. This may be because rural students take more interest in elections and thereby notice the less presentable aspect of them more than urban students.

A detailed break-up of the table shows the various elements being indicated by the rural and urban reporters. I have treated below their percentages in the descending order. Out of the 433 rural reporters, 56.10% and of the 456 urban reporters, 56.36% have noticed "an extravagance of money" in elections. It is a revelation to note that parties lavishly spend money in both urban and rural areas : the use of money seems to have become an integral part of electioneering. Rural and urban students are almost unanimous in their observation. There are 54.03% of the rural reporters and 58.55% of the urban reporters who have seen "groupism" in elections. It clearly follows from this that groupism is not a characteristic of a particular place but haunts ubiquitously both rural and urban areas. It is explicit that urban students observe groupism in elections more than rural students. "Goondaism and Hooliganism" in elections have been observed by 52.41% of the rural reporters and 47.80% of the urban reporters. It goes without saying that both rural and urban places are frequented by goondaism and hooliganism : the difference in frequency is a matter of degree and not of kind. Evidently, goondaism and hooliganism seem to operate more vigorously in rural places than in urban areas. 44.10% of the rural reporters and 38.37% of the urban reporters state that they have noticed "casteism and communalism" being exploited in elections. It is apparent that casteist and communal sentiments are whipped up in both rural and urban areas. Evidently, casteism and communalism seem to play a more important rôle in rural areas than in urban places.

A castewise consideration of the sample shows that all students of almost every caste from both rural and urban place are aware of the seamy side of elections. It means that caste does not obstruct the observation of students : cent per cent of the rural reporters of the Brahmin, the Gujars etc., the Backward and Scheduled castes, the Neo-Buddhist, the Muslim and the Christian castes are in the know of the seamy side of elections : while 99% of the rural reporters of the Maratha, 96.87% of the rural reporters of the Jain, 96.65% of the rural reporters of the Intermediate Hindus, and 96.54% of the rural reporters of the Lingayat castes have noticed the less presentable aspect of elections. In respect of the urban reporters, it is explicit that cent per cent of students of the Lingayat, the Backward and Scheduled caste, the Muslim and the Christian castes know the seamy side of elections ; while 97.04% of students of the Brahmin, 97.05%

of students of the Jain, 90% of students of the Gujars etc., 96.97% of students of the Maratha, and 96% of the students of the Intermediate Hindu castes have the knowledge of the less presentable aspect of elections

FAITH IN ELECTIONS

Elections are the very soul of a representative democracy : citizens should have faith in them, otherwise a democratic set-up will collapse like a house of cards: they are the rulers and ruled ; they alone can choose the government they desire. In view of this, it is envisaged to know whether students have faith in elections ; a question of their faith in elections assumes wider significance as it immediately follows the question regarding their knowledge of the seamy side of elections.

Table 94 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of the 761 males, 76.08% and of the 150 females, 74% have liking for elections. It is a matter of elation that the majority of students have unflinching faith in elections. It is supremely encouraging to note that they are not at all disillusioned in spite of their awareness of the seamy side of elections. It follows from this that they have undiminishing trust in a representative democracy. However, it would be the height of folly to underrate the percentages of those males and females who have developed dislike for elections. It is the bounden duty of every citizen to impress upon them the indispensability of elections in a representative democracy ; herculean efforts, therefore, should be untiringly made to make elections clean and orderly so that they will ultimately shed all their prejudices about elections and will come to believe in them. Evidently, males have more faith in elections than females.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that the majority of students of every faculty has liking for elections. It clearly means that faculty does not influence the likes and dislikes of students

Table 95 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of the 439 rural students, 78.59% and of the 472 urban students, 73.10% have liking for elections. It is a matter of pride and pleasure that the majority of rural and urban students have faith in elections ; this, further, indicates the popularity of elections in both rural and urban areas. It is a revelation that rural students have more faith in elections than their counterparts from urban places ; in fact, they are more in the know of the seamy side of elections than urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample shows that the majority of students of every caste from both rural and urban places have liking for elections. It obviously means that all castes have faith in elections ; they do not suffer from any inhibitions. In this connection, it may be placed on record that a Neo-Buddhist student who is a typical example of non-response has explicitly expressed his liking for elections.

Chapter Seven

ATTITUDES AND ASPIRATIONS

INTRODUCTION

It is only in democracy that citizens have a right to participate freely in political affairs and governmental administration. Democracy, as it obtains, is feasible under the assumption that in a society there are always some people who are politically ambitious: if there were no people to seek public offices, democracy will certainly break down like a castle on sand. Hence, citizens are expected to be ambitious for both political and administrative offices.

This chapter is devised to learn of the political aspirations of students and their efforts to realise them: their political loyalty is also examined. All this will undoubtedly reveal their political attitudes and aspirations.

POLITICAL AMBITIONS

The sovereignty of the people is the basis and the watchword of democracy: the people are the ultimate source of power: they have a share in the direction of the state: their will, be it wise or otherwise, does prevail. In view of this, it is imperative that the people are politically ambitious first; otherwise, democracy will certainly vanish. In this context, it is envisaged to learn whether students are politically ambitious. In order that their political aspirations be properly struck and investigated, I have asked them whether they would like to be member of: Parliament, Assembly, Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Gram Panchayat, Municipality, other; minister in: Union Ministry, State Ministry, other; president of: Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Municipality, other; and Sarpanch: Gram Panchayat. Moreover, their efforts at the realisation of their political desires are also spotlighted. All this will undoubtedly disclose both their political ambitions and involvement in politics.

Tables 96 and 97 give the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 57.42% and of the 150 females, 35.33% have clearly stated that they have political aspirations. It is clear as crystal that more than half of the total students (53.79%) are politically ambitious. It is indeed interesting that students, instead of dedicating themselves religiously to their studies, cherish political dreams. It is inferable that they are irresistibly enamoured of and lured by the aureole of publicity, popularity, and power that invariably accompanies politics: therefore, they have indulgently set their heart on it. Further, it appears that values in their life have undergone drastic change: politics has unfortunately become an article of their faith. All this will certainly produce nothing but an army of politicians, i.e. power-seekers. Hence, the first and foremost need of the hour is to see that they do not engage, in thought or action, in any activity that is detrimental to their studies which must be puritanically completed first. It is evident that the percentage of the female aspirants is lower

than that of the male aspirants : this at once shows that females are not as much enchanted by political life and, consequently, are not as much politically ambitious as males. All the same, it may be placed on record that the percentage of the female aspirants is appreciably high and, therefore, praiseworthy considering our way of life. It is worth while to note here that the percentages of the male (48.88) and female (26.00) aspirants who have indirectly revealed their political ambitions (see page 96) are lower than those of the male and female reporters who have openly stated above that they are politically ambitious. It may, therefore, be generalised that a considerable number of students are politically ambitious.

A detailed break-up of the tables pinpoints the specific ambitions of the male and female aspirants : their percentages are treated below in the descending order. Out of the 437 male aspirants and of the 53 female aspirants the highest percentage of the male (54.68%) and female (54.72%) aspires to be "minister". In our country ministers reign and rule : they enjoy both position and power : in short, they are the Government : consequently, of all the political offices ministership is supremely prized and desired by the largest number of the aspirants. It is revealing that males and females are almost unanimous in their regard for "minister". A break-down of the "minister" discloses that out of the 239 future male ministers, 64.43% and 35.56% ; and of the 29 future female ministers, 68.96% and 31.03% would like to be "Union Minister" and "State Minister" respectively. It is obvious that aspirants value Union ministership more than State ministership: this may be because Union Ministry has become a centre of attraction as it has wider powers and jurisdiction vis-a-vis the State Government : moreover, low aim is crime ! It is interesting to observe from the percentages that females attach more importance to Union ministership than males. There are 32.72% of the male and 37.74% of the female aspirants who are ambitious to become "member". It goes without saying that next to ministership students have fascination for membership. It appears that they desire to go through "proper channel" and, therefore, do not indulge in lofty political ambitions to begin with. It is apparent that females are more attracted towards membership than males. A composition of the "member" displays the male and female aspirants opting for the membership of a particular body. Out of the 143 future male members, 35.66% and of the 20 future female members, 15% have preferred to be "Member of Parliament" ; while 30.77% of the future male members and 15% of the future female members have expressed their desire to become "Member of Assembly". It is clearly seen that the largest number of the future male members value the membership of Parliament and Assembly more than that of Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Gram Panchayat and Municipality : this is especially true of the membership of Parliament. It undoubtedly means that the aspirants (males) aspire to be members of the higher and powerful political bodies. It is observable that females have comparatively less interest in the membership of both Parliament and Assembly. Zilla Parishad allures 18.18% of the future male members and 30% of the future female members :

while 9.79% of the future male members and 25% of the future female members are attracted towards Municipality. It is explicit that the percentages of the future male and female members of Zilla Parishad are substantially *higher* than those of the future male and female members of Municipality. This discloses the popularity of Zilla Parishad among students, rather surprising and interesting considering the "seniority" of Municipality. Zilla Parishad seems to be preferred because of its comparatively wider powers and of the brighter prospects of political ascent. It is striking that the percentages of the future female members of Zilla Parishad and Municipality are considerably higher than those of the future male members from these respective bodies. There are 4.89% of the future male members and 10% of the future female members who wish to be "Member of Gram Panchayat"; as against this only 0.70% of the future male members and 5% of the future female members opt for the "Membership of Taluka Panchayat Samiti". It is evident from the above percentages that Gram Panchayat is comparatively more popular among students than Taluka Panchayat Samiti. It is worth mentioning in this connexion that the percentages of the future male and female members of Taluka Panchayat Samiti are lowest. It obviously means that the importance of Taluka Panchayat Samiti in the set-up of Panchayat Raj is not adequately understood and, therefore, appreciated by students. It is notable that the percentages of the future female members of Taluka Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayat are considerably higher than those of the future male members from these respective bodies. It is the express desire of 7.78% of the male and 7.54% of the female aspirants to become "president". It unequivocally follows from this that students have moderate interest in becoming "president"; evidently, they do not have as much fascination for "presidency" as for "ministership" and "membership". The meagre percentages of the future presidents may be treated as symptomatic of the fact that students do not want to harness their talents for the affairs of local bodies which have limited field of activity and, therefore, limited powers. It is apparent that males and females are almost unanimous in their esteem for "president". A break-up of the "president" shows the male and female aspirants choosing the presidency of a particular body. Out of the 34 future male presidents and of the 4 future female presidents the highest percentage of the males (61.76) and females (75) aspires to be "President of Zilla Parishad". This means Zilla Parishad is more popular among students than Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Gram Panchayat, and Municipality. This may be attributed to the comparatively better and brighter position of the President of Zilla Parishad. It is interesting to note that females are more ambitious to become President of Zilla Parishad than males. 29.41% of males and 25% of the females aspire to be "President of Municipality". It is seen that males have more interest in becoming President of Municipality than females. It is reported by 8.82% of the future male presidents only that they would like to be "President of Taluka Panchayat Samiti". It is inferable that Taluka Panchayat Samiti is not as much popular among males as Municipality: besides, females have totally ostracised Taluka Panchayat Samiti. A glance at the composition of both "member" and "president" clearly reveals that the percentages of the future male and female

presidents of Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, and Municipality are markedly higher than those of the future male and female members from these bodies. It plainly means that the "headship" of the local bodies attracts more aspirants than their "membership": it may be said in this context that students favour those political offices that have more powers and reputation. It is explicit that 3.66% of the male aspirants only desire to become "Sarpanch of Gram Panchayat". It goes without saying that the percentage of the future male Sarpanches is notably meagre; and surprisingly, it is lower than the percentages of the aspiring male and female members of Gram Panchayat. It is observable that females do not aspire to be Sarpanch. In spite of all this what is noteworthy in this respect is that Sarpanchship should interest college students—though few males! In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that political offices that have wider powers and brighter prospects are mainly desired.

Facultywise percentages of the male and female aspirants are separately treated: they are considered below in the descending order. Table 96 conveys that the highest percentage of the male aspirants (64.74) is from the arts faculty. It goes without saying that males of this faculty are politically more ambitious than males of other faculties. There are 63.15% of the male aspirants who belong to the law faculty. It is discernible that there is a slight difference between the percentages of the male aspirants of the arts and the law faculties. It is not wrong, therefore, to generalise that males of these faculties are politically more ambitious than males of the rest of the faculties. This, I should believe, corroborates the general impression that males of these faculties are seen in corridors of power. It is worth noting that the percentage of the male aspirants (61.53%) of the commerce faculty is considerably high. It may casually be remarked that males of this faculty are not only interested in commerce but also in politics. The agriculture faculty has 52.93% of the male aspirants. It is revealing from this percentage that a large number of the First Year students (males) do have political ambitions: it readily follows from this that class does not influence the political aspirations of students. It is explicit that 52.64% of the male aspirants are claimed by the post-graduate classes. It may be said that those prosecuting higher studies are not as much politically ambitious as males of the arts, law, commerce, and agriculture faculties: they seem to be comparatively conscientious and responsible students. It is notable that the percentage of the male aspirants (47.44%) of the science faculty is lowest. This is demonstrative of their comparatively moderate interest in politics: they are not as much politically ambitious as males of other faculties. It may be observed in conclusion that more than half of males of every faculty, except that of the science faculty, are politically ambitious: it, naturally, follows from this that faculty does not markedly govern the political aspirations of males.

In respect of females, it is apparent from Table 97 that the percentages of the female aspirants of every faculty are substantially lower than those of the male aspirants from every faculty. It is deducible from this that females of every faculty are not politically as much ambitious as males from every faculty: in this connexion, it may safely be said that females of every faculty have com-

paratively moderate interest in politics. A female from the agriculture faculty reports that she has no political aspirations. She seems to be a scrupulous student. It is noticeable that the highest percentage of the female aspirants (40) is from the commerce faculty. It means females of this faculty are politically more ambitious than females of other faculties : it appears that commerce is conducive to politics ! Next to this faculty, the arts faculty has 36.70% of the female aspirants ; while 32.26% of the female aspirants come from the science faculty. It is obvious that the sizable number of females of both the arts and the science faculties have political aspirations. All the same, it is clearly seen that females of the arts faculty are politically more ambitious than females of the science faculty. It is seen that 25% of the female aspirants are claimed by the post-graduate classes. This may be treated as suggestive of the fact that those prosecuting higher studies are not totally devoid of political aspirations. In the end, it may be observed that the considerably high percentage of females of every faculty has political ambitions ; hence, faculty should not be considered as responsible for the indulgence in political aspirations.

Tables 98 and 99 give the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 62.87% and of the 472 urban students, 45.34% have unequivocally stated that they have political aspirations. A wide difference between the two percentages is demonstrative of the fact that rural students are politically far more ambitious than urban students. This may be because rural students have more interest in politics than urban students. Moreover, it may be observed in this connexion that urban places appear to have ceased to be the centre of political activities ; and the centre of politics seems to have moved towards rural areas.

A detailed break-up of the tables shows the rural and urban aspirants indicating their political aspirations : their percentages are treated below in the descending order. Out of the 276 rural aspirants, 54.71% and of the 214 urban aspirants, 54.67% have expressed their desire to become a "minister". It is apparent that ministership has captivated the highest percentage of the rural and urban aspirants : this at once reveals its top popularity among both rural and urban students. Obviously, they are almost unanimous in their regard for "minister". A break-down of the "minister" plainly discloses that out of the 151 future rural ministers, 54.97% and 45.03% ; and of the 117 future urban ministers, 77.78% and 22.22% would like to be "Union Minister" and "State Minister" respectively. Explicitly, the rural and urban aspirants value Union Ministership more than State Ministership. Moreover, it is seen that urban students attach more importance to Union Ministership than rural students.

There are 30.43% of the rural and 36.92% of the urban aspirants who are ambitious to become "member". It is notable that next to ministership rural and urban students are attracted towards membership. Positively, urban students have more regard for membership than rural students. A composition of the "member" shows the rural and urban aspirants choosing the membership of a parti-

cular body. Out of the 84 future rural members, 34.51% and of the 79 future urban members, 22.79% intend to be "Member of Assembly"; while 32.13% of the future rural members and 34.18% of the future urban members like to be "Member of Parliament". It is noticeable that the largest number of the future rural and urban members have more regard and attraction for the membership of Parliament and Assembly than that of Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Gram Panchayat, and Municipality. It is important to note in this context that the largest number of the future rural members love to be "Member of Assembly"; while the highest percentage of the future urban members desires to be "Member of Parliament". It is deducible that the rural and urban aspirants wish to be members of the higher and powerful political bodies. Further, it is observable from the break-up of the "minister" and "member" that the urban aspirants have comparatively loftier aspirations than the rural aspirants. Zilla Parishad interests 22.61% of the future rural members and 16.46% of the future urban members. It may be placed on record that the percentages of the rural and urban aspirants to membership of Zilla Parishad are considerably higher than those of the Taluka Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayat. This explicitly means that Zilla Parishad is more popular among both rural and urban students than Taluka Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayat. It is, further, noteworthy in this connexion that the sizable percentage of the future urban members has evinced interest in the membership of Zilla Parishad: it is plain that Zilla Parishad is not the exclusive preserve of rural students alone. It is the express aspiration of 7.14% of the future rural members and 3.80% of the future urban members to become "Member of Gram Panchayat". It is noticeable that the percentage of the future rural members of Gram Panchayat is substantially higher than those of the future rural members of Taluka Panchayat Samiti and Municipality: moreover, the percentage of the future urban members of Gram Panchayat is higher than that of the future urban members of Taluka Panchayat Samiti. It means Gram Panchayat is more popular among rural students than Taluka Panchayat Samiti and Municipality; and it is held in higher esteem in urban places than Taluka Panchayat Samiti. It is quite natural to generalise that rural students have more interest in the membership of Gram Panchayat than urban students but what merits attention is the fact that few urban students have fascination for the membership of Gram Panchayat! Municipality attracts 2.38% of the future rural members and 21.52% of the future urban members. It evidently means that urban students have far more interest in the membership of Municipality than rural students but what is notable in this respect is that few rural students have also attraction for the membership of Municipality! It is seen that the lowest percentage of the future rural (1.19) and urban (1.27) members belongs to Taluka Panchayat Samiti. This is the proof that Taluka Panchayat Samiti is not popular among both rural and urban students. However, it is worth mentioning that only one future urban member wishes to be member of this body.

It is manifest that 8.69% of the rural and 6.54% of the urban aspirants want to be "president". It goes without saying that rural and urban students have

moderate interest in becoming "president": as a result of this, they do not have as much attraction for "presidency" as for "ministership" and "membership". Plainly, rural students are more attracted towards "president" than urban students. A break-up of the "president" shows the rural and urban aspirants opting for the presidency of a particular body. Out of the 24 future rural presidents, 70.88 and of the 14 future urban presidents, 50% desire to be "President of Zilla Parishad". It is inferable that Zilla Parishad is more popular among both rural and urban students than Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Gram Panchayat, and Municipality. It is explicit that rural students are more ambitious to become the President of Zilla Parishad than urban students: all the same, the percentage of the urban aspirants to presidents should not be ignored. There are 16.60% of the rural aspirants to presidentship and 50% of the urban students who aspire to be "President of Municipality". It is obvious that urban students have more interest in becoming President of Municipality than rural students. However, what is noteworthy here is that rural students have interest in becoming President of Municipality. It is stated by 12.50% of the future rural presidents only that they would like to be "President of Taluka Panchayat Samiti". It may be generalised that Taluka Panchayat Samiti is not as much popular among rural students as Municipality: moreover, urban students are totally indifferent towards it. A glimpse at the break-down of both "member" and "president" evidently shows that the percentages of the future rural and urban presidents of Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, and Municipality are considerably higher than those of the future rural and urban members of these bodies. It means that the "headship" of the local bodies allures more rural and urban aspirants than their "membership": this is more true of the rural aspirants.

Obviously, 5.43% of the rural and 0.47% of the urban aspirants like to be "Sarpanch of Gram Panchayat". It is interesting that the percentages of the aspiring rural and urban Sarpanchs are lower than those of the future rural and urban members of Gram Panchayat. It is quite natural that rural students have more interest in Sarpanchship than urban students: all the same, it is amusing that urban students desire to become Sarpanch! In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that the majority of the rural and urban aspirants desire to embrace those political offices that have wider powers and brighter prospects. Desire of some urban aspirants to become "Member" and "President" of Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, and Gram Panchayat; and of some rural aspirants to become "Member" and "President" of Municipality should not be treated as incongruous because it is observable that some city-dwellers have still interest in rural areas and some rural people have of late developed interest in urban places.

A castewise treatment of the sample displays the percentages of the rural and urban aspirants of every caste. It is noticeable that the percentages of the rural aspirants from every caste, except the Gujars etc. are higher than those of the urban aspirants from every caste. It follows from this that the rural aspirants

of every caste are politically more ambitious than the urban aspirants from every caste. It is a matter of education that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban places are considerably high: the Brahmins 53.50% (rural) and 39.90% (urban), the Jains 65.62% (rural) and 55.88% (Urban), the Gujars etc. 28.57% (rural) and 30% (urban), the Lingayats 62.06% (rural) and 58.33% (urban), the Intermediate Hindus 56.66% (rural) and 56% (urban), the Backward and Scheduled Castes 69.05% (rural) and 50% (urban), the Muslims 53.33% (rural) and 33.33% (urban), and the rural Christians cent per cent. It is interesting to note that the percentages of the Jain, the Lingayat, and the Intermediate Hindu aspirants from urban places, and those of the Backward and Scheduled Castes and the Christian aspirants from rural places are notably higher than the percentages of the Marathas from both rural (67.16%) and urban (50.31%) places respectively. Further, it may be recorded that the percentages of the Brahmin aspirants from rural and urban areas are lower than the percentages of the Maratha aspirants from both rural and urban areas. It naturally follows from this that the Marathas are politically more ambitious than the Brahmins. It may be pointed out that the Gujars etc. are comparatively moderate in their political aspirations; hence, it may be inferred that they are not as much politically ambitious as other castes from rural and urban areas. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that all castes—major and minor—have political aspirations: the majority of rural and urban students of every caste are politically ambitious: therefore, it may be concluded that caste does not markedly influence the political aspirations of students.

MEANS TO POLITICAL CAREER

After pinpointing the exact number of the male and female political aspirants it would be a matter of enlightenment to know whether they make efforts to realise their political goals: wishes never become 'horses' unless they are backed up by endeavours. This would indicate whether they are not only ambitious or genuinely interested in actualizing their political designs: moreover, examination of the means to political career would indirectly reveal their involvement in politics. I have offered five means to students: social work, party work, welfare of caste, currying favour with party leaders, and other.

Table 100 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex. A glance at the table reveals that all the male (57.42%) and female (35.33%) aspirants strive to achieve their political objectives. It means that these aspirants are neither sluggish nor given to reverie but are essentially perseverant in realising their political ambitions. This is incontestably ruinous because they engage themselves actively in converting their political dreams into reality instead of devoting faithfully to studies.

A detailed composition of the table shows the aspirants specifically indicating their efforts to realise their political aspirations. Out of the 437 male aspirants, 78.02% and of the 53 female aspirants, 60.38%, report that they do "social

work". It is clear as daylight that social work has a dynamic appeal to the largest number of both the male and female aspirants: plainly, it is valued more than any other "means". It is inferable that these students seem to be confident that social work will positively enable them to achieve their political goals. It appears that social work is no longer a corrective against social evils but a spring-board to jump into politics, a passport to enter political career! Evidently, the male aspirants take to social work more than the female aspirants: it means males believe in the miracles of social work more than females. There are 24.71% of the male and 11.32% of the female aspirants who categorically state that they resort to "party work". In a party democracy, party work occupies a zenithal position: all party workers engage themselves with it as it brightens their prospects as well as that of a party at the polls. Nevertheless, association of these aspirants with party work is unfortunate: this would vitiate their educational life: besides, what is despicable is that parties barefacedly suffer students to do party work. It is seen that the male aspirants take more interest in party work than the female aspirants. It is asserted by 10.30% of the male aspirants and 3.77% of the female aspirants that they "curry favour with party leaders". In party politics some leaders are always "bosses" who constitute the High Command of a party: lessers at all times strive to seek their patronage only to rise politically. In the light of this, it is revealing to note that these aspirants are keen on materialising their political longings by primarily basking in the smiles of big leaders. It is manifest that the male aspirants struggle more to be in the good books of party leaders than the female aspirants. It is confessed by 2.29% of the male aspirants and 7.55% of the female aspirants that they resort to the "welfare of their caste". It may be observed that these aspirants ulteriorly take interest in the amelioration of their caste: they like to exploit the caste patriotism with a view to actualize their political designs. It is indeed shocking that even college students should think of making use of their caste to their advantage at the cost of healthy democratic practices. This is a shining illustration of how casteism has reached even the younger generation. It is worthwhile to mention that the female aspirants are more engaged in the betterment of their caste than the male aspirants. It may be inferred that females are more casteist in their political behaviour than males. It is striking that 11.21% of the male and 30.19% of the female aspirants have not specified their efforts. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that the majority of the male and female aspirants resort to social work and party work: moreover, it may be generalised that all the male and female aspirants are undoubtedly involved in active politics.

POLITICAL LOYALTY

In party politics defections are not uncommon: the disgruntled leaders generally desert their party on this or that account and they are usually followed by their admirers. In view of this, a reply to the question: in case the leader you like leaves the party, would you also leave it? would reveal the political loyalty and thereby maturity of students.

Table 101 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 72.40% and of the 150 females, 72% have categorically stated that they have no intention to leave the party even if their leader were to leave it. This means the overwhelming majority of the reporters are devoutly faithful to a party: they certainly realise its importance and they hold it above their leader. They have obviously no fascination for personality nor do they suffer from sheep-mentality: hence, it may be generalised that they are politically mature and responsible. It is obvious that males and females are politically mature and responsible.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that the largest number of students of every faculty have no intention to leave the party even if their leader were to leave it. It follows from this that the overwhelming majority of students of every faculty are faithfully loyal to the party and, therefore, could be treated as politically mature and responsible. A close examination of the sample displays that the highest percentage of the male reporters (94.75%) unwilling to leave the party is from the post-graduate classes. It means males of this faculty are more loyal to the party and, therefore, politically more mature than males of other faculties. It is the decision of 84.20% of the male reporters of the law faculty not to desert the party. How conspicuous it is that the largest number of the prospective lawyers owe allegiance to the party and disclose their political maturity eventually. It may be placed on record that the considerably high percentage of the male reporters (74.09%) of the arts faculty is reluctant to quit the party. This discovers their unshakable faith in the party--a symbol of their political maturity. It is noticeable that there is no marked difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the science (71.15%) and agriculture (70.78%) faculties. These reporters are loath to leave the party: hence it is deducible that they are almost equally devoted to the party and, therefore, could be treated as politically mature. It is seen that the lowest percentage of the male reporters (64.78%) disinclined to desert the party is from the commerce faculty: of course, males of this faculty are not as much faithful to the party and, therefore, politically mature as males of other faculties.

In respect of females, it is seen that a female from the agriculture faculty intends to desert the party: she may be treated as politically immature and irresponsible. Obviously, all females of the commerce faculty are opposed to quit the party. It apparently means that they are more loyal to the party and, therefore, politically more mature than females of other faculties. It is explicit that there is no notable disparity between the percentages of the female reporters of the post-graduate classes (75%) and of the science faculty (74.19%). These reporters are unwilling to divorce the party: hence it may be said that they are almost equally faithful to the party and, therefore, could be treated as politically mature. It is interesting to note that the lowest percentage of the female reporters (67.88%) disinclined to leave the party is from the arts faculty: it is apparent that females of this faculty are not as much devoted to the party and,

therefore, politically mature as females of other faculties. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that faculty does not markedly influence the political loyalty and maturity of students.

Table 102 gives the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 74.49% and of the 472 urban students, 70.35% have reported that they have no desire to desert the party even if their leader were to quit it. A gap between the two percentages reveals that rural students are more devoted to the party and, therefore, politically more mature than urban students : this is indeed interesting taking into account the comparatively better background of city dwellers.

A castewise treatment of the sample conveys that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have no intention to quit the party even if their leader were to leave it. It is inferable from this that the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste are loyally true to the party and, therefore, could be considered as politically mature and responsible. A close view of the sample distinctly discloses that the percentages of the rural reporters of every caste, unwilling to leave the party, are almost consistently higher than those of the urban reporters from every caste reluctant to desert the party. It means rural students from every caste are politically more loyal and mature than urban students of every caste. It is indeed revealing that the percentages of the minority castes, disinclined to quit the party, from both rural and urban places are considerably high : the Brahmins 77.44% (rural) and 70.93% (urban), the Jains 62.50% (rural) and 73.52% (urban), the Gujars etc. 71.43% (rural) and 80% (urban), the Lingayats 68.96% (rural) and 58.33% (urban), the Intermediate Hindus 69.99% (rural) and 60% (urban), the Backward and Scheduled Castes 80.95% (rural) and 100% (urban), the Neo-Buddhists 100% (rural), the Muslims 100% (rural) and 66.66% (urban), and the Christians 80% (rural) and 66.66% (urban). It is instructive to note that the percentages of the Brahmins, the Backward and Scheduled Castes, the Muslims, and the Christians from rural areas and those of the Jains, the Gujars etc., the Backward and Scheduled Castes from urban places are higher than the percentages of the Marathas from both rural (73.13%) and urban (70.91%) places respectively. It is obvious that the rural Brahmins are politically more loyal and mature than the rural Marathas ; the urban Marathas and Brahmins are almost equally politically loyal and mature. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that caste does not markedly influence the political loyalty and maturity of both rural and urban students of every caste.

Chapter Eight

KNOWLEDGE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL MATTERS

INTRODUCTION

It is true that national matters directly or indirectly affect and afflict individual life. At the same time, an individual may exercise his democratic right to suggest the alternative solutions to national problems. Further, international issues have bearing upon national affairs and vice versa. Even foreign policy today has become a bundle of principles and practices that regulates the intercourse of a state with other states. Consequently, no state can afford to be indifferent towards international problems. All this demands that a citizen should not follow the policy of "isolationism" but keep himself well informed about national and international affairs.

In this chapter a few questions on national and international matters are put to students. In particular, their knowledge about emotional integration in India is discovered : their view about India's foreign policy is floodlit : their opinion on India's alignment with other states is also sought : a question about the suitability of political system to India is put to them : they are asked to state whether there are political differences among Western states, Communist states, and Non-aligned states : their opinion whether the U.N. is a guarantee of the world security and peace is examined. All this will eventually disclose their knowledge about matters national and international.

EMOTIONAL INTEGRATION

For peace, progress, and prosperity emotional integration among citizens is indispensable. Unfortunately, 'unity in diversity' has become a fiction : sense of nationalism, a unifying force, is largely weak. Provincialism has been supremely reigning : it has been aggravated by linguistic fanaticism, border and water disputes, etc. Casteism is in our very blood and communalism intermittently rocks the country. Party politics, as usual, has divided people ideologically. In short, fissiparous forces are increasingly haunting our society. A question : do you think India is emotionally integrated ? is intentionally put to students in order to learn whether they are aware of this phenomenon.

Table 103 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 85.41% and of the 150 females, 87.33% categorically state that there is no emotional integration in India. It is as clear as sunlight that the largest number of males and females rightly understand this phenomenon. It is apparent that females are more aware of this phenomenon than males : it appears that females feel the pangs of emotional disintegration in India more than males !

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male reporters (92.92%), holding the view that there is no emotional integration in India, is from the post-graduate classes. It signifies that males of the post-graduate classes have better understanding of this phenomenon than males of other faculties. There are 89.47% of the male reporters of the law faculty who positively maintain that India is devoid of emotional harmony. It is discernible that males of the law faculty do not have as much knowledge of this phenomenon as males of the post-graduate classes. It is noticeable that the percentages of the male reporters of these faculties, holding the above view, are higher than those of the male reporters of other faculties, having the same opinion. It naturally follows from this that those males who prosecute higher education, that is, above graduation, are more informed about this phenomenon than males from the arts, science, commerce, and agriculture faculties. It is unequivocal that the percentages of the male reporters of the arts (88.84%) and science (87.36%) faculties, stating that there is no emotional concord in India, are considerably high. All the same, it may be placed on record that males of the former faculty are slightly more familiar with this phenomenon than males of the latter faculty. It is worthwhile to note that the percentage of the male reporters of the commerce faculty (82.68%), holding the above view, is lower than that of the male reporters from the science faculty. It may be inferred that males of the latter faculty are more in the know of this phenomenon than males of the former faculty. It is seen that the lowest percentage of the male reporters (64.70%), opining that there is no emotional unison in India, is from the agriculture faculty.

In respect of females, it is manifest that all females of the commerce (5) and agriculture (1) faculties report that there is a want of emotional integration in India. It is evident that there is no marked difference between the percentages of the female reporters of the arts (87.15%) and the science (87.10%) faculties, reporting the absence of emotional harmony in India. It may be generalised from this that females of these faculties are equally well informed about this phenomenon. What is amusing to record is that the lowest percentage of the female reporters (75%), expressing the viewpoint that there is no emotional concord in India, is from the post-graduate classes. It may be inferred that females of this faculty are not as much conversant with this phenomenon as females of other faculties. It is clearly seen that the percentages of the male reporters of the arts and the science faculties, and of the post-graduate classes, maintaining the view that there is no emotional harmony in India, are higher than those of the female reporters from these faculties: it means males of these faculties have more knowledge of this phenomenon than females from these faculties. It becomes evident that the largest number of males and females of every faculty rightly understand this phenomenon. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that faculty does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of this phenomenon.

Table 104 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 86.33% and of the 472 urban students, 85.18% state that there is no emotional integration in India. It is crystal clear that the largest number of rural and urban students are aware of this phenomenon: it means place of origin is positively no bar to their understanding of this phenomenon. The slightly higher percentage of the rural reporters, holding the above view, may be treated as symbolic of rural students' more knowledge of this phenomenon than urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample conveys that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have decidedly reported that India is devoid of emotional harmony. It is naturally inferable from this that the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have knowledge of this phenomenon. A close view of the sample strikingly displays that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban places, holding the above viewpoint, are considerably high: Brahmins 87.29% (rural) and 89.65 (urban), Jains 71.87% (rural) and 85.28% (urban), Gujars etc 71.43% (rural) and 80% (urban), Lingayats 89.64% (rural) and 83.33% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 83.32% (rural) and 84% (urban), Backward and Scheduled Castes 90.47% (rural) and 100% (urban), Neo-Buddhist cent per cent (rural), Muslims 73.33% (rural) and 66.66% (urban), and Christians 100% (rural) and 83.33% (urban). It follows from this that minority castes have knowledge of this phenomenon. Further, it is significant to note that the percentages of Christians, Neo-Buddhists, Backward and Scheduled Castes, and Lingayats from rural areas; and the percentages of Christians, Backward and Scheduled Castes, Intermediate Hindus, Lingayats, Jains, and Brahmins from urban places, reporting a want of emotional concord in India, are higher than the percentages of Marathas from both rural (88.55%) and urban (81.26%) places respectively; it clearly means that students of these castes have better understanding of this phenomenon than the Maratha students. It is apparent that the rural Marathas are slightly more informed about this phenomenon than the rural Brahmins; as against this the urban Brahmins are more familiarised with this phenomenon than the urban Marathas. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that caste does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of this phenomenon.

INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

The major criterion of a country's foreign policy is the coldly and rationally calculated national interests; it is also shaped by its history, culture, geography, economic conditions and the personality structures of its leaders. Indian foreign policy is a part of our culture, and an element of our political traditions: its roots go back to the time of Ashoka and earlier. The policy of non-alignment is one of the great contributions of Nehru: it has served not only India's interests, but has, to some extent, contributed to world peace and security: it is an inde-

pendent and positive policy which is definite and dynamic; for the Indian Government it is a matter of principle, not of opportunism or the convenience of the day.

Table 105 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 97.89% and of the 150 females, 94.67% have answered this question. It is quite plain that response to this question is quite warm but that of females is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of males. It is explicit that out of the 745 male reporters, 73.15% and of the 142 female reporters, 74.84% have categorically stated that foreign policy of India is non-aligned. It is a matter of gratification that the largest number of males and females rightly know the foreign policy of India. It may, I should believe, be generalised that these students are conversant with external relations of India. It is evident that females have slightly more knowledge of foreign policy of India than males.

A facultywise treatment of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male reporters (81.58%), reporting that foreign policy of India is non-aligned, is from the post-graduate classes. It undoubtedly means that males of this faculty have more knowledge of India's foreign policy than males of other faculties. There are 78.94% of the male reporters of the law faculty who hold the view that India's foreign policy is non-aligned. It is worth mentioning here that males of the law faculty do not have comparatively as much grasp of our foreign policy as males of the post-graduate classes. It is seen that the percentages of the male reporters of these faculties, maintaining the above viewpoint, are notably higher than those of the male reporters of other faculties, having the same opinion. It follows from this that males who prosecute higher education, that is above graduation, are better informed about foreign policy of India than males of the arts, science, commerce, and agriculture faculties. It is apparent that the percentage of the male reporters of the arts faculty (76.10%), stating that India's foreign policy is non-aligned, is substantially higher than those of the male reporters of the science (73.90%), commerce (71.10%), and agriculture (66.66%) faculties: it may be generalised that males of the former faculty are more in the know of India's foreign policy than males of the latter faculties. It is discernible that the percentage of the male reporters of the science faculty, holding the above view, is higher than that of the male reporters from the commerce faculty. It obviously means that males of the former faculty have better understanding of our foreign policy than males of the latter faculty. It is clear that the lowest percentage of the male reporters (66.66%), expressing the view that foreign policy of India is non-aligned, is from the agriculture faculty. It is deducible from this that males of the first year do not have as much knowledge of our foreign policy as males of the higher classes.

In respect of females, it is evident that all females of the post-graduate classes (4) categorically report that foreign policy of India is non-aligned. It indicates that females from the post-graduate classes have obviously more knowledge of

foreign policy of India than females of other faculties. It is noteworthy that a female of the agriculture faculty states that India's foreign policy is aligned: this is nothing but a proof of her ignorance about our foreign policy. It is noticeable that the percentages of the female reporters from the science (80.64%) and commerce (80%) faculties, expressing the opinion that foreign policy of India is non-aligned, are markedly higher than the percentage of the female reporters of the arts faculty (72.27%). It implies two things: first, females of the science and commerce faculties have better understanding of our foreign policy than females of the arts faculty; secondly, there is no notable difference between the percentages of the female reporters of the science and commerce faculties; it means that females of both faculties are equally well familiarised with India's foreign policy. It is manifest that the largest number of males and females of every faculty rightly understand India's foreign policy. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that faculty does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of India's foreign policy.

Table 106 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 98.86% and of the 472 urban students, 95.98% have attempted this question. It is apparent that response to this question is quite encouraging but that of urban students is not comparatively as much warm as that of rural students. It is plain that out of the 434 rural reporters, 72.81% and of the 453 urban reporters, 70.86% report that foreign policy of India is non-aligned. It is obvious that the largest number of both rural and urban students rightly know the foreign policy of India: this means place of origin is certainly no bar to the understanding of India's foreign policy by students. The higher percentage of the rural reporters, having the grasp of India's foreign policy, may be considered as suggestive of their more knowledge than urban students.

A castewise consideration of the sample discloses that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have unequivocally stated that foreign policy of India is non-aligned. It follows from this that the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have knowledge of India's foreign policy; and thereby of external relations of India. A close view of the sample conveys that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban places, holding the above viewpoint, are considerably high: Brahmins 68.57% (rural) and 65.30% (urban), Jains 90.71% (rural) and 75% (urban), Gujjars etc. 71.42% (rural) and 60% (urban), Lingayats 80.20% (rural) and 100% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 72.41% (rural) and 72% (urban), Backward and Scheduled Castes 78.57% (rural) and 100% (urban), Muslims 92.30% (rural) and 50% (urban), and Christians 60% (rural) and 60% (urban). It is inferable that minority castes have knowledge of India's foreign policy. Besides, it is seen that the percentages of Brahmins, Jains, Gujjars etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled Castes, and Muslims

from rural areas ; and the percentages of Lingayats, and Backward and Scheduled Castes from urban places, having knowledge of India's foreign policy, are higher than the percentages of Marathas from both rural (67.5%) and urban (77.07%) areas respectively ; it clearly means that students of these castes have better grasp of India's foreign policy than the Maratha students. It may be noted with interest that the rural Brahmins are slightly more informed about foreign policy of India than the rural Marathas ; as against this the urban Marathas are more conversant with our foreign policy than the urban Brahmins. It may be recorded that a Neo-Buddhist rural student reports that India's foreign policy is aligned : this is a clear indication of his political ignorance. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that caste does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of India's foreign policy

FAITH IN NON-ALIGNMENT

The post-Second War period witnessed the polarisation of world politics into two blocs: free world and communist world. India has been consistently following the policy of non-alignment: it has scrupulously remained "uncommitted", and never even inclined to join any bloc ; nor has it desired to become a member of any military pact even for its own security. A question : India should align with—Western States/Communist States/non-aligned States—is devised to discover the faith of students in India's non-alignment.

Table 107 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 95.65% and of the 150 females, 84% have answered this question. It is explicit that response to this question is quite encouraging but that of females is not comparatively as much warm as that of males. Moreover, it may be stated here that 4.53% of the male reporters and 3.17% of the female reporters have given ambiguous answers. It plainly means that these students do not have right opinion about India's possible alignment. It is obvious that out of the 728 male reporters, 66.48% and of the 126 female reporters, 65.08% have unequivocally reported that India should align with non-aligned states. It is a matter of pride and pleasure that the largest number of males and females have unshakable faith in our foreign policy. It is instructive to note that males and females have almost equal faith in non-alignment. It may casually be mentioned here that 24.07% of the male and 29.36% of the female reporters have opined that India should align with Western states ; while 4.95% of the male and 2.38% of the female reporters hold the view that India should align with Communist states. The above reports automatically and comparatively reveal the popularity of both Western states and Communist states among these students ; evidently, the former states are comparatively more popular among them than the latter. Further, it is noticeable that Western nations are comparatively more popular among females than among males ; and Communist countries are comparatively more popular among males than among females.

A facultywise consideration of the sample shows that the highest percentage of the male reporters (86.12%), reporting that India should align with non-aligned states, is from the post-graduate classes. It means males of this faculty have more faith in our foreign policy than males of other faculties. There are 66.29% of the male reporters of the arts faculty who opine that India should align with non-aligned states. Obviously, males of this faculty have more faith in India's foreign policy than males of the science, commerce, law, and agriculture faculties. It is noteworthy that there is almost no difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the science (65%) and commerce (65.13%) faculties, stating that India should align with non-aligned states. It follows from this that males of these faculties have almost equal faith in foreign policy of India. It may be placed on record that the percentage of the male reporters of the agriculture faculty (64.29%), holding the viewpoint that India should align with non-aligned states, is considerably high: this is commendable in view of the fact that these males belong to the first year of college: it may be generalised that class does not affect the faith of students in our foreign policy. It is truly amazing that the percentage of the male reporters of law faculty (63.15%), stating that India should align with non-aligned states, is lowest. It evidently means that the prospective lawyers do not have as much faith in our foreign policy as males from other faculties. Moreover, it is noticeable that there is a wide gap between the percentages of the male reporters of the law faculty and of the post-graduate classes, opining that India should align with non-aligned states. What deserves treatment in this context is the fact that those prosecuting higher education, that is above graduation, should differ so widely in their opinion about India's alignment with non-aligned states: apparently, the post-graduate males have more faith in India's foreign policy than males of the law faculty.

In respect of females, it is seen that all females of the post-graduate classes (4) report that India should align with non-aligned states. It means females from this faculty have more faith in India's foreign policy than females of other faculties. It is significant to note that a female from the agriculture faculty is of the opinion that India should align with Western states. It implies two things: first, she is ignorant about India's foreign policy and, secondly, her predilection for Western countries is revealed. There are 66.29% of the female reporters of the arts faculty who feel that India should align with non-aligned nations. It goes without saying that females of the arts faculty have more faith in India's foreign policy than females of the science and commerce faculties. It is noticeable that the percentage of the female reporters of the science faculty (61.29%), holding the view that India should align with non-aligned states, is considerably higher than the percentage of the female reporters of the commerce faculty (50%), having the same opinion. It is plain that females of the science faculty have more faith in our foreign policy than females of the commerce faculty. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that the largest number of males and females of every faculty are of the view that India should align with non-aligned states: it means the largest number of males and females of every faculty have faith in

India's foreign policy : thus, it is inferable that faculty does not markedly affect the faith of students in India's foreign policy.

Table 108 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 95.90% and of the 472 urban students, 91.75% have answered this question. It is apparent that response to this question is quite warm but that of urban students is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of rural students. Besides, it may be mentioned here that 4.75% of the rural reporters and 3.92% of the urban reporters have given vague answers. It is explicit that out of the 421 rural reporters, 67.21% and of the 433 urban reporters, 65.34% have categorically stated that India should align with non-aligned states. It is a matter of jubilation that the largest number of rural and urban students have absolute faith in India's foreign policy. It may be pointed out that rural students have more faith in our foreign policy than urban students. It may incidentally be stated here that 23.04% of the rural and 26.55% of the urban reporters have opined that India should align with Western states ; and 4.99% of the rural and 4.11% of the urban reporters hold the view that India should align with Communist states. The above reports naturally and comparatively disclose the popularity of both Western and Communist states among these rural and urban students: obviously, the former states are comparatively more popular among these rural and urban students than the latter. Further, it is seen that Western nations are comparatively more popular among rural students than among urban students, and Communist countries are comparatively more popular among rural students than among urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample displays that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have reported that India should align with non-aligned countries. It follows from this that the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have faith in India's foreign policy. A close view of the sample shows that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban areas, holding the above viewpoint, are considerably high : Brahmins 69.14% (rural) and 68.10% (urban), Jains 54.84% (rural) and 64.52% (urban), Gujars etc. 85.71% (rural) and 60% (urban), Lingayats 96.54% (rural) and 90.91% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 81.49% (rural) and 54.17% (urban), Backward and Scheduled Castes 54.76% (rural) and 50% (urban), Muslims 66.37% (rural) and 75% (urban), and Christians 60% (rural) and 40% (urban). It is deducible that the minority castes have faith in our foreign policy. Moreover, it is apparent that the percentages of Brahmins, Gujars etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, and Muslims from rural areas ; and the percentages of Brahmins, Jains, Lingayats, and Muslims from urban places, having faith in non-alignment, are higher than those of the Marathas from both rural (63.54%) and urban (62.67%) areas respectively ; it goes without saying that students of these castes have more faith in India's foreign policy than the Maratha students. It may be recorded with interest that the rural and urban Brahmins have more faith in non-alignment than the rural and urban Marathas. It is worth

mentioning here that a Neo-Buddhist rural student reports that India should align with Western states; this is clearly suggestive of his political inclination. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that caste does not markedly affect the faith of students in India's foreign policy.

FAITH IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The purpose for which the people live together cannot be realised unless they are properly organised and subject themselves to certain rules of behaviour. Government is the focus of the common purpose of the people and it is through this medium that common policies are determined, common affairs regulated, and common interests promoted. Without Government the people will be just a babel of tongues with no means of collective action. The needs of man and his environments have become so numerous and complex that no system of government can claim perfection and consequently finality; hence, many forms of government have cropped up. However, I have offered only three political systems to students: democracy, dictatorship, and communism. A question: which system is more suitable to India—democracy, dictatorship, and communism—is put to students with a view to discover their faith in a particular system.

Table 109 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 97.37% and of the 150 females, 97.34% have answered this question. It is obvious that response to this question is quite warm and encouraging. What is striking in this respect is that males and females are almost unanimous in their response to this question. Besides, it may be pointed out here that 4.86% of the male and 1.36% of the female reporters have given ambiguous answers. It is crystal clear that out of the 741 male reporters, 82.08% and of the 146 female reporters, 89.04% have categorically reported that democracy is suitable to India. It is a matter of supreme satisfaction that the largest number of males and females have unwavering faith in democracy. This is highly commendable in view of the fact that India has been "gheraoed" by non-democratic states and has been troubled by both internal and external problems. It is interesting to place on record that females have more faith in democracy than males. It may be noted by the by that 7.96% of the male and 8.21% of the female reporters have opined that dictatorship is suitable to India; while 5.13% of the male and 1.36% of the female reporters hold the view that communism is suitable to India. The above reports naturally and comparatively disclose the popularity of both dictatorship and communism among these students. Obviously, the former is comparatively more popular among them than the latter. It is indeed a revelation that only few students are attracted towards Communism in spite of its winning and vigorous appeal. It is seen that dictatorship is slightly and comparatively more popular among females than among males; and communism is comparatively more popular among males than among females.

A facultywise treatment of the sample displays that the highest percentage of the male reporters (89.47%), reporting that democracy is suitable to India,

is from the law faculty. It means the law students (males) have more faith in democracy than males of other faculties. There are 85.62% of the male reporters of the commerce faculty who have opined that democracy is suitable to India. It goes without saying that males of this faculty have more faith in democracy than males of the arts, agriculture, and science faculties, and of the post-graduate classes. It is explicit that the percentage of the male reporters of the arts faculty (83.95%), holding the viewpoint that democracy is suitable to India, is considerably high. It is needless to point out that males of this faculty have more faith in democracy than males of the agriculture and science faculties, and of the post-graduate classes. It may be placed on record that the percentage of the agriculture faculty (81.25%), opining that democracy is suitable to India, deserves attention: this percentage is indeed praiseworthy in view of the fact that these males belong to the first year of college: it may be deduced that class does not affect faith of students in democracy. It is striking to note that the percentage of the male reporters of the science faculty (79.43%), holding the view that democracy is suitable to India, is higher than the percentage of the male reporters of the post-graduate classes (72.98%). It is apparent that the science students (males) have more faith in democracy than the post-graduate males. Moreover, it has got to be mentioned here that the percentage of the male reporters of the post-graduate classes, holding the above opinion, is lowest. It signifies that the post-graduate males do not have as much faith in democracy as males of other faculties. It is noteworthy that there is a broad disparity between the percentages of the male reporters of the law faculty and of the post-graduate classes, opining that democracy is suitable to India. What readily catches attention in this connexion is the fact that those prosecuting higher education, that is above graduation, differ so widely in their opinion about the suitability of democracy to India.

In respect of females, it is obvious that all females of the science faculty (31) categorically state that democracy is suitable to India. It means females from this faculty have more faith in democracy than females of other faculties. It is manifest that a female from the agriculture faculty is of the opinion that dictatorship is suitable to India. It naturally means that she has faith in dictatorship. There are 87.62% of the female reporters of the art faculty who think that democracy is suitable to India. It is apparent that females of this faculty have more faith in democracy than females of the commerce faculty and of the post-graduate classes. It is seen that the percentage of the female reporters of the commerce faculty (80%), holding the view that democracy is suitable to India, is higher than the percentage of the female reporters of the post-graduate classes (75%), having the same opinion. Obviously, females of the former faculty have more faith in democracy than females of the latter. Moreover it may be noted with interest that the percentage of the female reporters of the post-graduate classes, reporting the suitability of democracy to India, is lowest. Evidently, they do not have as much faith in democracy as females of other faculties. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that the

largest number of males and females of every faculty are of the view that democracy is suitable to India : it follows from this that the largest number of both males and females of every faculty have unwavering faith in democracy : thus, it is deducible that faculty does not markedly affect the faith of students in democracy.

Table 110 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 96.82% and of the 472 urban students, 97.90% have answered this question. It is plain that response to this question is quite warm but that of rural students is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of urban students. Besides, it may be pointed out here that 4.94% of the rural reporters and 3.68% of the urban reporters have given ambiguous answers. It is evident that out of the 425 rural reporters, 86.12% and of the 462 urban reporters, 80.54% have positively opined that democracy is suitable to India. It is a matter of education that the largest number of rural and urban students have unshakable faith in democracy. All the same, it is indeed instructive to note that rural students have undoubtedly more faith in democracy than urban students. It may casually be indicated here that 5.18% of the rural and 10.60% of the urban reporters hold the view that dictatorship is suitable to India ; while 3.76% of the rural and 5.20% of the urban reporters are of the opinion that communism is suitable to India : apparently, the former is comparatively more popular among them than the latter : it is seen that dictatorship and communism are comparatively more popular among urban students than among rural students.

A castewise consideration of the sample conveys that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have reported that democracy is suitable to India. It means the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have unwavering faith in democracy. A close examination of the sample reveals that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban areas, holding the above viewpoint, are notably high : Brahmins 82.88% (rural) and 78% (urban), Jains 90.62% (rural) and 97.05% (urban), Gujars etc. 66.66% (rural) and 90% (urban), Lingayats 88.46% (rural) and 91.66% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 89.28% (rural) and 92% (urban), Backward and Scheduled Castes 82.93% (rural) and 100% (urban), Neo-Buddhists 100% (rural), Muslims 80% (rural) and 75% (urban), and Christians 80% (rural) and 100% (urban). It follows from this that the minority castes have faith in democracy. Besides, it is noticeable that the percentages of the Jains, the Lingayats, the Intermediate Hindus, and Neo-Buddhists from rural areas ; and the percentages of Brahmins, Jains, Gujars etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled Castes, and Christians from urban places, having faith in democracy, are higher than the percentages of the Marathas from both rural (87.69%) and urban (76.73%) areas respectively ; it is evidently inferable that students of these castes have more faith in democracy than Maratha students. In the overall context, it may be observed in the end that caste does not markedly affect the faith of students in democracy.

POLITICAL DIFFERENCE AMONG STATES

After World War II there came into being three broad political divisions in world politics : Western countries, Communist countries, and Non-aligned countries. The questions : do you think Western states politically differ among themselves ?, do you think Communist states politically differ among themselves ?, and do you think Non-aligned states politically differ among themselves ?, are separately put to students in the questionnaire and are separately treated in the tables : they are devised in order to learn whether students have general knowledge of relations between nations of the blocs mentioned above.

WESTERN COUNTRIES

It is a matter of common knowledge that Western states, though bound together by the general policy of containment of communism, do not pull together in one direction because of national interests. Table 111 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 83.18% and of the 150 females, 64% have answered this question. It is obvious that response to this question is quite warm but that of females is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of males. It is plain that out of the 633 male reporters, 84.06% and of the 96 female reporters, 89.61%, have categorically maintained that there are political differences among Western states. It is revealing that the largest number of males and females have knowledge of relations between Western states. It is evident that females are better informed about political differences among Western states than males.

A facultywise treatment of the sample conveys that the highest percentage of the male reporters (94.59%), reporting that there are political differences among Western states, is from the post-graduate classes. It means the post-graduate males have more knowledge of relations between Western states than males of other faculties. There are 90% of the male reporters of the agriculture faculty who have opined that there are political differences among Western states : this percentage is highly commendable in view of the fact that these males belong to the first year of college : it may be inferred that class does not come in the way of possessing knowledge of relations between Western states. It is apparent that the percentage of the male reporters of the commerce faculty (85.27%), holding the viewpoint that there are political differences among Western states, is considerably high. It is superfluous to mention that males of this faculty have more knowledge of relations between Western states than males from the arts, science, and law faculties. It is noticeable that there is almost no difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the arts (83.47%), law (83.33%), and science (33.25%) faculties, maintaining that there are political differences among Western states. It means males of these faculties have almost equal knowledge of relations between Western states. It may incidentally be pointed out that the lowest percentage of the male reporters, holding the view that there are political differences among Western states, is from the science faculty : it

naturally follows from this that males of this faculty do not have as much knowledge of relations between Western states as males of other faculties. Further, it is clearly seen that there is a wide difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the law faculty and of the post-graduate classes, expressing the opinion that there are political differences among Western states. What strikes one's mind in this connexion is the fact that those prosecuting higher education, that is above graduation, differ so widely in their observation of political differences among Western states.

In respect of females, it is discernible that all females of the post-graduate classes (4) report that there are political differences among Western states. It apparently means that females of this faculty have more knowledge of relations between Western states than females of other faculties. It is important to place on record that a female from the agriculture faculty is of the view that there are no political differences among Western states. This is nothing but proof of her political ignorance about relations between Western states. There are 94.12% of the female reporters of the arts faculty who express the opinion that there are political differences among Western states. It goes without saying that females of this faculty have more knowledge of relations between Western states than females of the science and commerce faculties. It is observable that the percentage of the female reporters of the science faculty (84.21%), holding the viewpoint that there are political differences among Western states, is remarkably higher than the percentage of the female reporters of the commerce faculty (50%), having the same opinion. It is clear that females of the former faculty have more knowledge of relations between Western states than females of the latter faculty. Finally, it may be observed that the largest number of males and females of every faculty are of the opinion that there are political differences among Western states: it follows from this that the largest number of males and females of every faculty have knowledge of relations between Western states: thus, it is manifest that faculty does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of relations between Western states.

Table 112 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 82.24% and of the 472 urban students, 77.98% have answered this question. It is explicit that response to this question is quite warm but that of urban students is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of rural students.

It is obvious that out of the 361 rural reporters, 85.04% and of the 368 urban reporters, 84.50% have opined that there are political differences among Western states. It is a revelation that the largest number of both rural and urban students have knowledge of relations between Western states. However, it is noteworthy that rural students have slightly more knowledge of relations between Western states than urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample displays that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have positively reported that there are political differences among Western states. It means the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have knowledge of relations between Western states. A close view of the sample discloses that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban areas, expressing the above viewpoint, are strikingly high: Brahmins (86.27% (rural) and 84.96% (urban), Jains 83.27% (rural) and 92.85% (urban), Gujars etc. 80% (rural) and 75% (urban), Lingayats 84% (rural) and 100% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 83.33% (rural) and 77.27% (urban), Backward and Scheduled Castes 81.63% (rural) and 100% (urban), Neo-Buddhists 100% (rural), Muslims 85.71% (rural) and 72.72% (urban), and Christians 80% (rural) and 100% (urban). It follows from this that the minority castes have knowledge of relations between Western states. Moreover, it is noticeable that the percentages of Brahmins, and Neo-Buddhists from rural areas; and the percentages of Brahmins, Jains, Lingayats, Backward and Scheduled Castes, and Christians from urban places, expressing the opinion that there are political differences among Western states, are higher than the percentages of the Marathas from both rural (86.23%) and urban (82.54%) areas respectively. Further, it is inferable that students of these castes have more knowledge of relations between Western states than the Maratha students. Finally, it may be observed that caste does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of relations between Western states.

COMMUNIST STATES

In recent years, it has become abundantly clear that there is no monolithic unity among Communist states. This is evidenced by the rift between Russia and China, and Russia and Albania. Table 113 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 82.78% and of the 150 females, 61.34% have answered this question. It is manifest that response to this question is quite warm but that of females is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of males. It is clear that out of the 630 male reporters, 73.75% and of the 92 female reporters, 61.95% have positively stated that there are political differences among Communist states. It is a matter of education that the largest number of males and females have knowledge of relations between Communist states. It is apparent that males are more familiarised with political differences among Communist states than females.

tween Communist states than males of the law, science, arts and agriculture faculties. It is interesting to record that there is no notable difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the law (73.68%) and science (72.94%) faculties, expressing the viewpoint that there are political differences among Communist states. It follows from this that males of these faculties have almost equal knowledge of relations between Communist states. Further, it may rightly be pointed out that males of these faculties have more insight into relations between Communist states than males of the arts and agriculture faculties. It is plain that the percentage of the male reporters of the arts faculty (66.95%), opining that there are political differences among Communist states, is not as high as the percentages of the male reporters of the science, commerce, and law faculties, and of the post-graduate classes, holding the same view. It means males of the former faculty do not have as much understanding of relations between Communist states as males of the latter faculties. It may be placed on record that the lowest percentage of the male reporters (60%) expressing the opinion that there are political differences among Communist states, hails from the agriculture faculty. It is apparent that males of this faculty do not have as much knowledge of relations between Communist states as males of the arts, science, commerce, and law faculties, and of the post-graduate classes.

In respect of females, it is observable that a female of the agriculture faculty reports that there are political differences among Communist states. It means she is well-conversant with relations between Communist states. There are 75% of the female reporters of the science faculty (70%), holding the viewpoint that there are political differences among Communist states. It goes without saying that females of this faculty have more knowledge of relations between Communist states than females of the science and the arts faculties, and of the post-graduate classes. It is interesting that the percentage of the female reporters of the science faculty (70%), holding the viewpoint that there are political differences among Communist states, is higher than the percentages of the female reporters of the arts faculty (58.74%) and of the post-graduate classes (50%), having the same opinion. It may be stated that females of the former faculty have more insight into relations between Communist states than females of the latter faculties. It is noteworthy that females of the arts faculty have better understanding of relations between Communist states than females of the post-graduate classes. Besides, it may be pointed out that the lowest percentage of the female reporters, maintaining that there are political differences among Communist states, is from the post-graduate classes. It signifies that females of this faculty do not have as much knowledge of relations between Communist states as females of other faculties. Finally, it may be observed that the largest number of males and females of every faculty are of the view that there are political differences among Communist states: it is inferable from this that the largest number of males and females of every faculty have knowledge of relations between Communist states: thus, it becomes abundantly clear that

faculty does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of relations between Communist states.

Table 114 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 83.15% and of the 472 urban students, 75.65% have answered this question. It is clear that response to this question is quite warm but that of urban students is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of rural students. It is apparent that out of the 365 *rural reporters*, 74.25% and of the 357 urban reporters, 70.58% have positively stated that there are political differences among Communist states. It is a matter of enlightenment and encouragement that the largest number of both rural and urban students have knowledge of relations between Communist states. All the same, it is seen that rural students are better informed about relations between Communist states than urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample points out that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have categorically asserted that there are political differences among Communist states. It follows from this that the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have knowledge of relations between Communist states. A close examination of the sample discovers that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban areas, holding the above viewpoint, are remarkably high: Brahmins 84.90% (rural) and 73.28% (urban), Jains 66.66% (rural) and 84.61% (urban), Gujars etc. 60% (rural) and 71.39% (urban), Lingayats 69.23% (rural) and 72.72% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 79.13% (rural) and 75% (urban), Backward and Scheduled Castes 66.66% (rural), Neo-Buddhists 100% (rural) and Muslims 92.30% (rural) and 54.54% (urban). It naturally follows from this that minority castes have knowledge of relations between Communist states. Besides, it is observable that the percentages of Brahmins, Intermediate Hindus, Neo-Buddhists and Muslims from rural areas; and the percentages of Brahmins, Jains, Gujars etc., Lingayats, and Intermediate Hindus from urban places, expressing the opinion that there are political differences among Communist states, are higher than the percentages of the Marathas from both rural (74.84%) and urban (67.18%) areas respectively. Apparently, it is deducible that students of these castes have more insight into relations between Communist states than the Maratha students. Finally, it may be observed that caste does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of relations between Communist states.

NON-ALIGNED STATES

Political differences among Non-aligned states became evident as back as 1954, at the Bandung Conference. It is seen that they work at times against one another: there is certainly no unity and sanity among them. Table 115 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 73.06% and of the 150 females, 52% have answered this

question. It is explicit that response to this question is quite warm but that of females is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of males. It is apparent that out of the 556 male reporters, 66.56% and of the 78 female reporters, 65.38% have reported that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. It is noteworthy that the largest number of males and females have knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states. It is obvious that males are slightly more in the know of political differences among Non-aligned states than females.

A facultywise treatment of the sample reveals that all the male reporters of the agriculture faculty (5) have positively pointed out that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. It goes without saying that males of this faculty are well acquainted with relations between Non-aligned states. It is conspicuous that the percentage of the male reporters of the post-graduate classes (81.81%), expressing the opinion that there are political differences among Non-aligned states, is higher than the percentages of the male reporters of the arts, science, commerce, and law faculties, holding the same viewpoint. It is inferable that males of the former faculty have more knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states than males of the latter faculties. It may be noted that there is no noteworthy difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the commerce (72.88%) and law (72.22%) faculties, opining that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. Evidently, males of both the faculties have almost equal grasp of relations between Non-aligned states. Further, it is observable that males of these faculties are better informed about relations between Non-aligned states than males of the arts and law faculties. In this connexion, it may be placed on record that the broad disparity between the percentages of the male reporters of law faculty and of the post-graduate classes, opining that there are political differences among Non-aligned states, interestingly indicates that those prosecuting higher education, that is above graduation, differ widely in their observation. There are 64.16% of the male reporters of the science faculty who assert that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. Plainly, males of this faculty are familiarised with relations between Non-aligned states. It is notable that males of this faculty have better insight into relation between Non-aligned states than males of the arts faculty. The lowest percentage of the male reporters (61.24%), stating that there are political differences among Non-aligned states, is from the arts faculty. It indicates that males of this faculty do not have as much understanding of relations between Non-aligned states as males of other faculties.

In respect of females, it is seen that there is no female reporter from the commerce and agriculture faculties, holding the view that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. It means females from these faculties do not have knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states. There are 75% of the female reporters of the science faculty who clearly state that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. It is manifest that females of

this faculty have more knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states than females of the arts faculty, and of the post-graduate classes. It is evident that the percentage of the female reporters of the arts faculty (64.91%), expressing the opinion that there are political differences among non-aligned states, is higher than the percentage of the female reporters of the post-graduate classes (50%), having the same opinion. It may be said that females of the former faculty have more grasp of relations between Non-aligned states than females of the latter faculties. What is surprising to observe is that the lowest percentage of the female reporters, reporting political differences among Non-aligned states, is from the post-graduate classes. It signifies that females of this faculty do not have as much knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states as females of other faculties. Finally, it may be observed that the largest number of males and females of every faculty are of the opinion that there are political differences among Non-aligned states: it is deducible from this that the largest number of males and females of every faculty have insight into relations between Non-aligned states: thus, it is manifest that faculty does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states.

Table 116 gives the distribution of the sample according to caste and place of origin. Out of 439 rural students, 70.39% and of the 472 urban students, 68.87% have answered this question. It is as clear as daylight that response to this question is quite warm but that of urban students is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of rural students. It is obvious that out of the 309 rural reporters, 69.90% and of the 325 urban reporters, 63.08% have categorically asserted that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. It is a matter of satisfaction that the largest number of both rural and urban students are well conversant with relations between Non-aligned states. All the same, it is noticeable that rural students have more knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states than urban students.

A castewise consideration of the sample discloses that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have reported that there are political differences among Non-aligned states. It follows from this that the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states. A close view of the sample reveals that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban areas, expressing the opinion mentioned above, are high: Brahmins 70.45% (rural) and 56.74% (urban), Jains 60.71% (rural) and 78.21% (urban), Gujars etc. 66.66%, (rural) and 85.71% (urban), Lingayats 76.19% (rural) and 60% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 70.84% (rural) and 72.22% (urban), and Backward and Scheduled Castes 78.78% (rural) and 100% (urban). It follows from this that these minority castes are well familiarised with relations between Non-aligned states. Further, it is seen that the percentages of the rural and urban reporters from Muslims and Christians, stating that there are political differences among

Non-aligned states, are not comparatively high : Muslims 41.66% (rural) and 55.55% (urban), and Christians 40% (rural). It may be inferred that these castes are not as much in the know of relations between Non-aligned states as other minority castes mentioned above. It is observable that a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas has not given any answer: it means that he does not know anything about relations between Non-aligned states. Besides, it is seen that the percentages of Lingayats and Backward and Scheduled Castes from rural areas; and the percentages of Jains, Gujars etc., Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled Castes, and Christians from urban places, holding the viewpoint that there are political differences among Non-aligned states, are higher than the percentages of the Marathas from both rural (71.52%) and urban (63.33%) areas respectively. Apparently, it is deducible that students of these castes have more knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states than the Maratha students. Incidentally, it may be placed on record that the Maratha students from both rural and urban areas are more familiarised with relations between Non-aligned states than the Brahmins from both rural and urban places. Finally, it may be observed that caste does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states. In the overall context of three questions treated above, it may be observed in the end that males and females are more conversant with relations between Western states than between Communist states, and Non-aligned states. Next to this, they are informed about relations between Communist states; while their knowledge of relations between Non-aligned states is comparatively least. The above sequence holds true in respect of faculty, caste, and place of origin.

WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY

The United Nations organisation was born in the tragedy of the Second World War : it is raised on the ruins of the League of Nations by the warlords of the Second World War. Among other things, its objectives aim at the prevention of war and the building of peace in its broadest sense. It is a matter of common knowledge that it has miserably failed because of the principle of nationalism, the doctrine of sovereignty, and the struggle for power. The question : does the U. N. give guarantee of the world peace and security ? is contrived to know whether students have general knowledge of the United Nations.

Table 117 gives the distribution of the sample according to sex and faculty. Out of 761 males, 92.38% and of the 150 females, 82.66% have answered this question. It is unequivocal that response to this question is quite warm but that of females is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of males. It is clearly seen that out of the 703 male reporters, 61.31% and of the 124 female reporters, 62.90% have pointed out that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. It shows that the largest number of males and females have knowledge of the United Nations. It is explicit that females are slightly more informed about the United Nations than males.

A facultywise treatment of the sample discloses that the highest percentage of the male reporters (73.68%) reporting that the U.N. does not give guarantee of the world peace and security, is from the post-graduate classes. It means males of this faculty have more knowledge of the United Nations than males of other faculties. There are 69.23% of the male reporters of the agriculture faculty who have maintained that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security : this percentage is highly praiseworthy in view of the fact that males of this faculty belong to the first year of college : it may be deduced that class does not come in the way of possessing knowledge of the United Nations. It is apparent that the percentage of the male reporters of the law faculty (68.42%), holding the viewpoint that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security, is considerably high. It is needless to indicate that males of this faculty are more informed about the United Nations than males of the arts, science, commerce, and law faculties. It is observable that there is almost no difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the arts (60.23%) and science (60.86%) faculties, expressing the opinion that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. It means males of these faculties have almost equal knowledge of the United Nations. It may be pointed out that the lowest percentage of the male reporters (59.02%), opining that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security, is from the commerce faculty : it follows from this that males of this faculty do not have as much knowledge of the United Nations as males of other faculties. Further, it is clearly seen that there is a wide difference between the percentages of the male reporters of the law faculty and of the post-graduate classes, stating that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. What is noteworthy in this respect is that those prosecuting higher education, that is above graduation, differ widely in their possession of knowledge of the United Nations.

In respect of females, it is noticeable that a female from the agriculture faculty has refused to answer this question. It clearly means that she does not know anything about the United Nations. There is no difference between the percentages of the female reporters of the post-graduate classes (75%) and of the commerce faculty (75%), stating that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. It is inferable from this that females of both the faculties have equal knowledge of the United Nations. All the same, it may be pointed out here that females of these faculties are more informed about the United Nations than females of the arts and the science faculties. There are 64.29% of the female reporters of the science faculty who have expressed the opinion that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. It goes without saying that females of this faculty are more conversant with the United Nations than females of the arts faculty. It is explicit that the lowest percentage of the female reporters (61.36%), reporting that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security, is from the arts faculty. It means females of this faculty do not have as much knowledge of the

United Nations as females of other faculties. Finally, it may be observed that the largest number of males and females of every faculty are of the opinion that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. It follows from this that the largest number of males and females of every faculty have knowledge of the United Nations: thus, it is seen that faculty does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of the United Nations.

Table 118 gives the distribution of the sample according to place of origin and caste. Out of 439 rural students, 90.21% and of the 472 urban students, 91.31% have answered this question. It is apparent that response to this question is quite warm but that of rural students is not comparatively as much encouraging as that of urban students. It is evident that out of the 396 rural reporters, 66.41% and of the 431 urban reporters, 65.90% have categorically reported that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. It is apparent that the largest number of both rural and urban students have knowledge of the United Nations. All the same, it is noteworthy that rural students are slightly more informed about the United Nations than urban students.

A castewise treatment of the sample clearly conveys that the largest number of both rural and urban students of every caste have positively reported that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security. It means that the overwhelming majority of both rural and urban students of every caste have knowledge of the United Nations. A close view of the sample reveals that the percentages of the minority castes from both rural and urban areas, expressing the above viewpoint, are high: Brahmins 72.13% (rural) and 64.52% (urban), Jains 65.51% (rural) and 68.75% (urban), Gujars etc. 80% (rural) and 75% (urban), Lingayats 69.23% (rural) and 72.72% (urban), Intermediate Hindus 65.38% (rural) and 76% (urban), Backward and Scheduled Castes 66.66% (rural) and 50% (urban), Muslims 73.33% (rural) and 75% (urban), and Christians 80% (rural) and 66.66% (urban). It follows from this that these minority castes have knowledge of the United Nations. Further, it is observable, that the percentages of the rural and urban reporters from Brahmins, Jains, Gujars etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled Castes (rural only), Muslims, and Christians, opining that the United Nations does not give guarantee of the world peace and security, are higher than the percentages of the Marathas from both rural (64.15%) and urban (63.69%) areas respectively. Apparently, it is inferable that students of these castes have more knowledge of the United Nations than the Maratha students. It may be placed on record that a Neo-Buddhist student from rural areas indicates that the United Nations gives guarantee of the world peace and security: it means he does not know anything about the United Nations. Finally, it may be observed that caste does not markedly come in the way of possessing knowledge of the United Nations. In the overall context of all the questions treated in the preceding pages, it may be observed in the end that the largest number of rural and urban males and females of every caste and faculty have knowledge about the matters national and international.

Chapter Nine

Findings

Consciousness is essentially a frame of mind. According to the Oxford Dictionary "consciousness" is a state of being conscious. Encyclopaedia Britannica says, "consciousness in its widest sense denotes mental experience of every kind". In view of this, it is pertinent to point out that the term "political consciousness" defies any attempt at definition. Hence, it cannot be precisely measured. All the same, it becomes manifest through external activities.

External activities of students are elaborately studied in the preceding chapters: reading of newspapers, periodicals, party newspapers, party literature and political literature (Ch. III); discussions of political subjects, attending political meetings, comment on the speech of speakers, attending study circles organised by political parties and attending caste meetings (Ch. IV); membership (active and passive) of a political party, sympathy for a political party, participation in both party and political activities, membership of a trade union, sympathy for a trade union; membership of a student association, sympathy for a student association (Ch. V); voting behaviour at the 1962 General Elections, canvassing at the elections and for both party and independent candidates, desire to contest elections, opinions regarding the bases on which elections should be contested: elections to the local bodies and the General Elections, knowledge of the seamy side of elections and faith in elections (Ch. VI); political aspirations, efforts to realise political aspirations and ascertainment of political loyalty (Ch. VII); lastly, knowledge of matters national and international: emotional integration in India, alignment of India with other states, foreign policy of India, suitability of political system to India, political differences among Western, Communist and Non-aligned states and the U.N. as a guarantee of the world peace and security.

All this gives an overall impression of students' political consciousness which is viewed according to sex, faculty, caste and place of origin. Most students appear politically conscious. Reasons for this conclusion are as follows:

(I) Almost all students read newspapers (Page 14): it means they show basic awareness of day-to-day happenings. A large number of students are primarily interested in political news (Page 16). It may, therefore, be said that they keep themselves abreast of political affairs. Almost all students read periodicals (Page 17) and a large number of them take interest in reading political matters (Page 18): it means they are familiar with the thoughtful political information: this way, their political consciousness is being developed.

A large number of students read party newspapers (Page 20) : it follows from this that they are in the know of party ideologies, programmes and views on current issues: they have interest in party politics. A considerable number of students peruse party literature (Page 24). It evidently means that they are well informed about party ideologies, programmes and views on current problems. Reading of party newspapers and literature also disclose the popularity of parties and the political inclinations of students. A majority of students read political literature (Page 28); it means they are acquainted with the thoughtful political information.

(II) A majority of students discuss political subjects among themselves (Page 31): it follows from this that they do not rest content with reading of political things but they also discuss them. Their 'reading' and 'discussions' reveal their knowledge of and interest in politics. A majority of students attend political meetings (Page 35) and comment upon the speeches so heard (Page 35). Obviously, they associate themselves with party activities, and parties, in their turn, command a sizable audience from students. A definite interest and involvement of students in politics is displayed here. Further, it appears that they are not merely passive spectators but would like to be active critics. This way, their political consciousness is being directed in a purposeful way.

Some students attend study circles organised by political parties (Page 38). If the attendance is not large, the fault should be with parties that do not attract a large number of students. The attendance at the study circles discloses both the popularity of party and political affiliations of students (Page 38). Discussions at the study circles (Page 41) may increase their political knowledge and alienate them from other parties altogether. This way their political consciousness which has assumed active form is being channelised in a definite direction. Some students attend caste meetings (Page 43): it means they are aware of their social duties! Out of this awareness political involvement may not be too big a jump.

(III) There are a few students who are party members (Page 47): it is not contrary to our experience. Plainly, parties in their bid to register maximum number of members do not spare student community. Moreover, party-wise consideration of the membership shows the popularity of parties and political commitment of students (Page 48). When we come across students who say that they have been members of some political party or the other, we come to a more positive stage in the political consciousness. This is a stage which is worth-noting.

It is remarkable that a majority of students have sympathies for parties (Page 55). It means they are neither politically indifferent nor Non-aligned but quite alive, aligned and affiliated. It may be argued that they are conversant

with party ideologies, programmes, and views on current issues ; otherwise they would not have indicated their sympathies. Besides this, sympathies for parties imply two things: (1) the popularity of parties, and (2) political alignments of students (Page 56).

A sizable number of students participated in party activities (Page 61) ; this clearly pinpoints the actual involvement of students in politics and shows how parties in their design to seize power depend upon students. Further, their participation in party activities displays their political commitments and the popularity of parties (Page 62). Participation of students in political activities (Page 67) confirms primarily their involvement in politics and marks the actual activities in which they are found.

A small number of students are members of trade unions (Page 72). It may be observed that a majority of students do not seem to have any concern with active trade unionism. However, it is noteworthy that a majority of them have sympathies for trade unions (Page 73). This highlights their interest in trade unions and shows that they are fairly familiar with the activities of trade unions ; otherwise, they would not have extended their sympathies to trade unions. Incidentally, it may be pointed out that sympathies of students for trade unions discloses their political inclinations and the popularity of parties (Page 74.)

It is a surprise that a meagre number of students are members of students' associations (Page 78) : this may be attributed to the failure of students' associations to attract students. However, a majority of them have sympathies for students' associations (Page 81). It follows from this that students do not want to take active interest in their associations but remain satisfied only with being sympathetic towards them.

(IV) Few students are voters at the last General Elections (Page 84). This is explainable with reference to their age-groups. Nevertheless, voting behaviour shows their political affiliations and the popularity of parties (Page 84). A large number of students have canvassed at various elections (Page 88). This implies their involvement in elections and thereby in politics. It is obvious that they are more involved in electioneering than in other party activities (Page 61). It goes without saying that parties do use students in their election campaigns. It is manifest that the number of those who canvass for a party (Page 92) is significantly larger than the number of those who canvass for an independent candidate (Page 92). This clearly shows the involvement of students in politics and their affiliations with parties. It may be seen from this that students rightly understand the role of a party in a representative democracy.

A considerable number of students have expressed, in no uncertain terms, their desire to contest elections (Page 96) : evidently, they are politically ambitious, given an opportunity they would surely contest: political life appears so

inviting that they long for it. A majority of students are politically mature as is obvious from the ratings they have given to the various bases on which elections to the local bodies (Page 98) and the General Elections (Page 102) should be fought. Almost all students have noticed the seamy side of elections (Page 107). It may be observed that elections are pervaded by the unfair and undemocratic practices. It is a matter of satisfaction that in spite of the knowledge of the dark side of elections, students have not lost their faith in elections as is clear from their assertion (Page 110). It may be inferred that they have faith in a representative democracy.

It may be placed on record that more than half of students (53.79%) have political ambitions (Page 111) : they desire to be members of Parliament, Assembly, Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti, Gram Panchayat and Municipality ; ministers in the Union Ministry and the State Ministry ; presidents of Zilla Parishad, Taluka Panchayat Samiti and Municipality ; and Sarpanch of Gram Panchayat. Of all the political offices, ministership is highly prized and supremely desired by the largest number of the aspirants (Page 112). This however, should be taken with a pinch of salt : The pomp and prestige of a minister may have a lot of fascination for the youthful mind. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that all the student aspirants are not of the romantic type : they say that they strive to achieve their political ambitions (Page 118) : the fact that they put in efforts to actualise their aspirations displays their positive involvement in politics (Page 118). The answers to the question "In case the leader you like leaves the party would you also leave it ?" has revealed some commendable loyalty and maturity of thought of students (Page 120). It indicates a healthy trend in Indian life that students have no fascination for personality nor do they suffer from sheep mentality.

(V) It can be seen that a majority of students have knowledge of national and international matters : a majority of students are not blind to the fact that there is no emotional integration in India (Page 122). They rightly say that foreign policy of India is non-aligned (Page 125) : they further hold the view that India should align only with non-aligned states (Page 127). Their knowledge of international affairs implies a higher degree of their political consciousness. A majority of students have categorically reported that democracy is suitable to India (Page 130). This is commendable at a time when India is being "gheraoed" by non-democratic forces. The students under this survey show comparative knowledge of democracy, dictatorship and communism. This is observable from the manner in which they make their choice between different political systems. A large number of students have knowledge of political differences in Western countries (Page 133), Communist nations (Page 135), and Non-aligned states (Page 137). It clearly shows that students are not only familiar with broad international relations but also know the relations among nations of three groups in world politics. Most students have made it clear that the

U.N. does not give a guarantee of world peace and security (Page 140). It means students are aware of the working of this institution.

Of the political consciousness it is possible to make grades : passive and active. This distinction arises over the fact that some students confine their activities to reading, discussing, extending sympathies for parties, trade unions and students' associations and political ambitions : they have faith in elections and have knowledge of various isms and of national and international affairs—these are the examples of passive consciousness—while some others extend their activities beyond the passive state to active politics such as attending political meetings, caste meetings and study circles : being members of parties, trade unions and students' associations ; participating in the party and political activities ; voting and canvassing at the elections ; and efforts to realise political aspirations. The number of actively conscious students, as can be expected, is less than those who are at the passive level.

It is seen that boys are politically more conscious than girls and display a higher degree of active consciousness than girls.

Broadly speaking political consciousness is not influenced by the faculty to which a student belongs. However, a close view of the tables shows that the post-graduate students and the law students are politically more conscious than students of other faculties : but they are more passive in their political consciousness than the undergraduate students. Youthful impulsiveness in the law and post-graduate students seems to have come to an end.

In regard to the "place of origin", it is striking to note that the rural students are passively and actively more conscious than the urban students. This is certainly a new development that political centres are drifting towards rural areas and the political interest of the urban students seems to be on the wane. Further, it may be said that in future rural areas would largely be the feeding centres of politicians.

Political consciousness is not governed by the caste to which a student belongs : obviously, all castes have interest in politics which is not a preserve of any particular caste. A close look at the tables indicates that the minority castes are both passively and actively conscious : Brahmins, Jains, Gujars etc., Lingayats, Intermediate Hindus, Backward and Scheduled Castes, Neo-Buddhists, Muslims and Christians. It is remarkable that Jains are comparatively more conscious at both levels than the other minority castes. It is pertinent to say that the minority castes are neither deterred from nor are they debarred from political life.

In respect of Brahmins and Marathas—important communities in Maharashtra—it may be seen that both are politically conscious. But the Brahmins are not as much involved in active politics as the Marathas—a majority caste. The

Marathas are politically more involved than the Brahmins and they have been playing an important role. In any democratic set-up it is inevitable that a majority community should play the role it has to play. It appears that most Brahmins are bidding adieu to active politics.

DIRECTION OF CONSCIOUSNESS

The direction of consciousness is an attempt to determine the degree of inclination that students have towards any of the parties. This naturally presupposes a fair degree of active consciousness. In addition, it also shows the students' ability to compare and discriminate between one party and the other.

Most students have interest in party politics : they are familiar with party programmes, ideologies and views on current issues : they have both active and passive association with parties. All this is evident from their reading of party newspapers (Page 20) and literature (Page 24), attending study circles organised by parties (Page 38) and discussions at study circles (Page 41), membership of party (Page 47) : both active and passive (Page 49), sympathies for parties (Page 55) and (Page 56), participation in party activities (Page 61), (Page 62) and in political activities (Page 67), membership of trade unions (Page 72), sympathies for trade unions (Page 73), (Page 74), membership of students' associations (Page 78), sympathies for students' associations (Page 82) and their voting (Page 84) and canvassing at elections (Page 92).

As regards the popularity of parties it is striking to note that it is only the Congress party that gets the highest ratings from students. It plainly means that the Congress party alone is most popular. When a majority of students show their fancy for the Congress which is the ruling party, it would not be really safe to conclude that they have a commendable degree of consciousness. Perhaps some of it may be because of the power and prestige the ruling party enjoys ; may also be due to a certain element of love for power and the personal gains following from it.

The rest of the parties get so meagre an attention from students that they do not deserve individual treatment here. However, broad trends about parties are examined below. For the sake of convenience, parties are grouped as the Centralist : the Congress party, the P.S.P. and the S.P. ; the Leftist : the C.P.I., the R.P.I., the P.W.P. and the L.N.G. ; the Rightist : the J.S., the H. Mahasabha, the Swatantra party and the Muslim League. The centralist parties are most popular among students—credit goes to the Congress party. Attention that the leftist and rightist parties get from students is quite less. Nevertheless, it may be pointed out that the leftist parties have comparatively fared better than the rightist parties. It would be in the fitness of things to say that when a meagre number of students show their preference for parties that have no chance of getting into power—at least in the immediate future—their preference, it must be said,

has been guided by a high degree of consciousness—a consciousness that has assumed a very active level and which has been backed up by a considerable thinking and conviction.

A close examination of the tables shows how some parties are identified with some castes. The Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha get support from the Brahmins only. At one time, the Brahmin community had shown acute consciousness and had dominated the political scene in the country. They were in almost a commanding position in the Congress party. But after Independence, when the Congress party came into power the rough game of politics began and the majority castes—Marathas especially—elbowed out the Brahmins who were willing to be so elbowed out. The other parties, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Jan Sangh, were found to be the pastures for the Brahmins. Even now they are found to be more in favour of these parties than the Congress party. It is possible to believe that if the Jan Sangh seizes power the majority castes may once again creep in it and push the Brahmins out. It appears that the Brahmins have lost their competitive instinct and have resigned themselves to second-rate citizenship.

The Republican party of India lives only on the support of the Backward and Scheduled Castes, and Neo-Buddhists. If most of the students of these castes say that they favour the R.P.I. this need not be put to their credit because as a Brahmin today naturally imagines that the Jan Sangh or the Hindu Mahasabha is *his* party, a scheduled caste or a Neo-Buddhist person naturally believes that he has no other party to represent him but the R.P.I., so the ratings obtained need not give us any rosy feelings about the political consciousness of these students.

The Peasants and Workers Party has backers from non-Brahmins—specially from the Marathas. The Maratha students who have indicated their preference for the P.W.P. may be considered to be more conscious than the Marathas who have shown their preference for the Congress—a party in power. These students show definite ability to discriminate which is remarkable. However, it must be mentioned here that the above-mentioned parties have quite a meagre casteist following: student community on the whole does not suffer from the cancer of caste.

ANCILLARY OBSERVATION

It is a matter of satisfaction that most students have definite awareness of their role in political life; most of them choose to be in a democratic set up. This is obvious from their reading of political literature (Page 28) and discussions of the political subjects (Page 32); though they are aware of the seamy side of elections (Page 107) they have not at all lost their faith in elections (Page 110); it follows from this that they have expressed their confidence in democracy. Further, they have op'ned in no uncertain terms that democracy is suitable to India; obviously, most students do not have any fascination for communism and dictatorship.

Chapter Ten

STUDENT MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted to the study of political consciousness among college students against the background of student movements in India. For convenience the chapter is divided into two parts : Part I gives a review of the movements in India from 1905 to 1960 and Part II tries to analyse their consciousness.

I. STUDENT MOVEMENTS (PRE-INDEPENDENCE)

In India students were initiators and agents in independence movements. Political and student movements are interlinked and have advanced more or less simultaneously, the latter always being under the direction of the former. Before Independence, political activities of students were focussed on issues of Independence and all grievances were given a political tone. From the beginning student movements in one way or the other have aligned themselves with one party or the other and parties have been utilizing their voice and strength for political goals.

Universities were established at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta in 1857 : the University of the Punjab was inaugurated in 1882 and the University of Allahabad was started in 1887. These universities were the centres of Western culture, ideas and political thought. Leaders and students were inspired and stirred by Western education : they naturally became nationalist and recalcitrant. The writings especially of Dayananda, Bankim, Vivekanand, Tilak etc. instilled a high sense of nationalism and sacrifice in students. To win mass support patriots and freedom fighters glorified old Indian traditions and praised everything Indian : all sufferings and ills were attributed to the British rule. This had the necessary emotional appeal, especially to the sensitive minds of students.

A noteworthy evidence of students' direct political activity records an incident in Calcutta during the first decade of the twentieth century. Lord Curzon without any provocation, hurt the feelings of Indians, especially of the Bengalis in his Convocation address in 1905. The Bengalis, being deadly offended, organised meetings to condemn his address. National sentiments of both Hindus and Muslims were aroused. Soon the plan of partitioning Bengal was put forth in order to drive a wedge between Hindus and Muslims. The 'divide and rule' policy of the British instinctively fanned the nation's anger to fever heat. Surendra Nath Banerji and Bipin Chandra Pal spearheaded the movement to frustrate the partition scheme : they made an ardent appeal to all people to boycott the British goods. Students and youths gave a ready and warm response to this call

In 1905 students in Eden Hindu Hostel (a dormitory) burned the effigy of Lord Curzon and British clothes. They resolved to boycott college examinations in order to remonstrate against the government's decision to partition their province. Despite police repression, a conference was held at Barisal: resolutions were passed to boycott British goods and to fight till the idea of partition was dropped. This was the beginning of student movements in India. A wave of agitation pervaded the length and breadth of the country.

During the next few years Bengali students played a valiant role in the early revolutionary parties: they were most active participants: colleges and schools were turned into mammoth demonstrations: processions were taken out. By this time, many revolutionary organisations were formed in different parts of the country: In 1906 Yugantar party came into existence in Dacca and Calcutta: Anushilan Samiti appeared on the horizon: In Maharashtra Upendranath and V. D. Savarkar formed the Young India League: In the Punjab a group known as Nai Hava (New air) was founded: students in Maharashtra and Punjab were deeply involved in politics. Militant students associated themselves with the revolutionary organisations.

During Lord Minto's tenure of office the air was surcharged with the Swadeshi Movement. Between 1905 and 1908 there was much turmoil and unrest in U.P., the Punjab, Tamil Nad, Andhra, the C.P., Maharashtra and Bengal. In Bengal Khudiram Bose tried to kill a magistrate: Tilak was sentenced to six years' imprisonment: the change of capital from Calcutta to Delhi was effected: provinces were reorganised: Rash Behari Bose hurled a bomb at Lord Hardinge: all this had a galvanizing effect on the youths and students who spontaneously volunteered their unstinted co-operation to the revolutionaries. Police atrocities failed to frighten away the youths and students from the revolutionary movement. Some militant students carried this movement even in foreign countries to help their compatriots in India.

Thus the Swadeshi movement paved the way for a revolutionary outlook on the part of youths and students. Indeed, it would be hardly any exaggeration to say that students proved to be the chief props and pillars of the Swadeshi and Boycott movement from the very beginning. Their youthful enthusiasm was kindled by the deep sense of nationalism and they jumped into the struggle with alacrity not being restrained by fear of consequences and careful calculations of pros and cons which would have chilled the ardour of older and more experienced men.

When Germany declared war on England, the Indian National Congress promised every help to the British. Ill-feelings towards them were temporarily suppressed. But the post-war period witnessed the vigorous nationalist struggle against the government. Nationalists were haunted and tormented by the government. Eventually, their repression resulted in Tilak's Home Rule Movement, Champaran Satyagrah and Montague-Chelmsford reforms. Students every time

not only sympathised with the national aspirations but also supported national leaders in all their moves : they were drawn into the Satyagrah movements every-time and they worked tirelessly and dauntlessly with the Congress in times of crisis. Though in this period they did not have any organisation of their own, their political involvement was complete.

Only after 1920, did students in thousands join the Congress directly and work for its success. During the troubled days of Jallianwala Baug there were strikes, demonstrations and fasts in the country: students and workers were active participants. For about 15 years, students' wrath was directed against the British policy in general but in the early 1920's student agitation was turned against the British educational system itself. The Indian National Congress in its session at Calcutta on the 4th September, 1920, passed a famous resolution calling for "... gradual withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges and earnest attempts to establish national institutions. ... By a National Institution it was meant any Educational Institution that did not receive aid from the government, was not in any way controlled or inspected by the government and was not affiliated to any university established by the government."

Agitation for national schools and colleges to replace the government institutions was a major issue in the 1920's. Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers visited Aligarh and Punjab in October, 1920 : they preached non-cooperation, especially withdrawal of boys and girls from schools and colleges, and lawyers from the bar. The Sikh League opted for non-cooperation and the Lahore Anjuman professed it : on 25th October, 1920, there was great excitement in Lahore. The students of D.A.V College and Islamia College walked out of their classes and were joined by other students. At Amritsar the council of the Khalsa College met on the 31st October, 1920 and passed a resolution not to accept the government grant and to transform the College into a National Institution. Meanwhile at Aligarh, the centre of the Muslim Culture in India, the situation was becoming alarming day by day. Non-cooperation leaders, the Ali Brothers, Dr. Ansari and others, appealed to the trustees and the Principal not to accept the government aid. At Calcutta, Muslim students of Madarasa, the Mohamadan High School, made common cause with the Aligarh students. At Benaras, the Hindu University students showed signs of unrest: fraternal greetings and visits were exchanged with the new National University of Aligarh.

The leaders of the Non-cooperation Movement went on guiding students. The All-India College Students' Conference was held at Nagpur on the 25th December, 1920, under the Presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai. He criticised the then denationalising system of education, stressed the need for the creation of a permanent organisation of college students to look after their interests and opined that students should participate in politics. The resolution on the non-cooperation and boycott of schools and colleges was passed by an overwhelming majority. In accordance with this resolution an attempt was made by students

early in 1921 to nationalise their education. Students at Bangabashi College in Calcutta came out of their classes in January, 1921, to demand the nationalisation of their institution. Similar agitations occurred at Ripon and at city colleges in Calcutta. In the following days, mammoth meetings were held : huge processions of youths and students marched through the streets singing national songs : schools, colleges and university were picketed : eventually, all colleges were emptied. It appeared that even professors joined students. On the 23rd January, 1923, Mahatma's visit to Calcutta aggravated the agitation : he praised students and urged them to boycott every government college and take up charkha. "Swaraj first and education after" was his creed. Students of these Calcutta Colleges, with the aid of the National Council of Education, founded the Bengal National University.

The example set up by Calcutta was followed in every part of the country. At Mymensing, Faridpur, Chandapur, Dacca and other towns colleges were closed. At Aligarh students demanded that the University disown all its connections with the government and revise its curricula on national lines. Having failed to persuade the trustees, students and nationalists established a new University : the Jamiya Miliya Islamia (National Muslim University) at Aligarh. Lala Lajpat Rai asked the D.A.V. College students of Lahore to leave the college at once. Meanwhile, the other Lahore Colleges were affected : the Foreman Christian College and Sanatan Dharam College became soon involved : the government college and the law college were also closed. In Bombay, leaders of the Non-cooperation Movement appealed to students to leave their colleges and devote themselves to national service. The Swarajya Sabha, the Home Rule League and the National Union organised a huge meeting which was addressed by Gandhi and the Ali brothers. It was here the above appeal was ardently made. Within few years, after the First World War, a number of national educational institutions were established. In addition to Jamiya Miliya Islamia and the Bengal National University (later Jadavpur University of Calcutta), the Bihar Vidyapeeth, the Kashi Vidyapeeth at Banaras, the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth and Tagore's Vishwa-Bharati at Shantiniketan in Bengal were created.

On the 29th December, 1921, the second session of the All-India College Students' Conference was held at Ahmedabad, under the presidentship of Smt. Sarojini Naidu. Representatives of all provinces were present. In her presidential address she asked students to give a warm response to the call of national leaders and exhorted them to take up constructive work. The third All-India College Students' Conference was held at Gaya, in December, 1922, under the presidentship of Babu Bhargav Das of Banaras. He spoke on the then modern education and expressed an opinion that student organisations should not be the adjuncts of any party. Mr. Nathuni Lal pleaded at the Conference for a common platform of all political-minded students. The fourth session of the All-India College Students' Conference was held at Madras on the 30th December, 1923. Mr. C. R. Das presided over the conference : in his president-

ial address, he asked students to associate themselves with the freedom struggle. He pointed out that the ideal of non-cooperation called upon them to leave the governmental educational institutions. Further, he made an appeal to them that if they had no courage to non-cooperate they should assist those who non-cooperate; during vacations they were asked to go to villages and educate the people. All these conferences were closely associated with the Indian National Congress.

After the Non-cooperation Movement was suspended, the country reverted to its normal conditions but students were never quiet: their fervour for struggle was kept up. Things were proceeding in a humdrum way but the arrival of the Simon Commission to Bombay on the 3rd February, 1928, brought about a sudden and unexpected change. The Indian National Congress called upon people to observe hartal as a remonstration against the Commission: hartal was a grand success. Students did not lag behind others in joining the struggle: they were the victims of repression and atrocities but this gave rise to the spirit of solidarity among them. In 1928, a student organisation was formed in the Punjab under the leadership of Lala Lajpat Rai. In Calcutta a students' organising committee—a representative of schools and colleges—was formed to draft the constitution of the All Bengal Students' Association. This Committee organised the All Bengal Students' Conference at Calcutta on the 22nd September, 1928, under the presidency of Nehru. At this conference an All-Bengal Students' Association officially came into existence. It was the first serious attempt to bring all Bengali students together. Pandit Nehru guided the deliberations and made valuable suggestions. Twenty resolutions were passed: the important among them were the proposals to constitute an All-India Students' Federation, to organise Provincial and District Committees and to start an English journal. Within one year the ABSA had a net-work of active branches throughout the province and claimed a membership of 20,000. It started its own journal "India Tomorrow" and was in touch with the International Students' Association: it actively demanded that Calcutta University modify its examination system. The Association carried on its normal activities till the revolutionary upheaval of Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagrah Movement in 1930. His message to students had an electric effect: schools and colleges were soon abandoned and thousands of students took to freedom struggle. The ABSA successfully conducted the boycott of the British goods in Calcutta. Despite the terrible police repression students continued their activities. Eventually, the ABSA was declared unlawful and the ban continued till 1934. However, students' militancy in Bengal continued to increase in the early 1930's. Mammoth province-wide conferences were held with the active support of the Congress leaders. Demonstrations of students shouting revolutionary and nationalist slogans were very popular and several attempts were made by students to assassinate high Government officials.

A students' conference was held at Matihari, Bihar, on the 4th October 1928. Prof. Vasvani was the president but he could not address the conference

owing to illness ; hence, Dr. Rajendra Prasad read Vasvani's address. The Punjab Students' Conference was held at Lahore on the 6th October, 1928, under the presidentship of Dr. Alam who advised students to rebel against communalism, old ideas, customs, convictions and institutions. He pointed out that they were destined to become future administrators of India and nothing would prevent them from taking part in political life. Mr. Rai addressed the conference and said that those who asked students not to take part in politics, asked them to become hypocrites. The All-India Students' Convention was held at Lahore on the 30th December, 1929, under the presidentship of Pandit Malaviya. Students from all over India had attended the convention which was addressed by Pandit Nehru, Patel, Shrinivas Iyengar, Dr. Kitchlew, Swami Prakashanand, Maulana Jafar Ali and others. The following resolutions were adopted : (1) Resolved that an All-India Student's Union be formed with a view to promoting (a) physical, intellectual and moral developments of students on national lines, (b) interest in the past of the country and (c) patriotism, education and sense of citizenship among students. (2) It was resolved to take steps to establish students' organisations in all the provinces and Organising Committees be appointed for the purpose. (3) Lastly, it was decided that the session of the AISU be held where the Indian National Congress held its session.

The ABSA observed 9th February, 1930 as the Students Day. It was the anniversary of the ideas underlying the student movement. Sir C. V. Raman addressed the gathering. Sometime in March, 1930, the ABSA held the All-Bengal Students' Convention to discuss and decide the role of students in the freedom struggle. Many resolutions were passed. On the 14th July, 1930, the Calcutta students started picketing the Presidency College. On 18th July, 1930, seven girl picketers were arrested in Bentham College for girls. On the 19th July, wild scenes were witnessed at the Scottish Church College. On the 9th September 1930, a big crowd, including students, was collected on the Howrah grounds to receive Mrs. Slade alias Mirabai : police arrested many women and students. The third All-Bengal Students' Conference was held at Calcutta on the 6th March, 1931, under the presidentship of Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya. Mr. C. R. Reddy inaugurated the Conference. An attempt was made on the life of Sir Ernest Hotson, the acting Governor of Bombay, at Poona, on the 22nd July, 1931, by Mr. V. B. Gogate. On the 28th October, 1931, Mr. L. G. Durno, District Magistrate of Dacca was shot at.

Every year along with the session of the Indian National Congress, a conference of students used to be held. In the year 1931, the Sind Students were unwilling to hold students' conference along with the session of the Indian National Congress. After some consultation and persuasion the Sind students agreed to convene the conference. It was held at Karachi on the 26th March, 1931, under the presidentship of Pandit Nehru. Almost every province was represented. Many resolutions were passed ; important among them were the resolutions to form the All-India Students' Federation and to found student

organisations in all provinces. When the political movement reached its peak all the organisations were declared illegal by the government. There was severe repression in every part of the country. Many youths and students went underground and joined the revolutionary associations. All this naturally resulted in violence. On the 6th January, 1932, a Calcutta girl of Diocesan College by the name of Bena Das unsuccessfully shot at the Bengal Governor, Sir Stanley Jackson who was addressing the Convocation of the Calcutta University. In Mysore and Kashmir as well as in the British India, Nationalist militancy grew intensively throughout this period.

Certain events which preceded the formation of the All-India Students' Federation may be mentioned here. For some years the university students' conferences were held at Lucknow under the auspices of the Politics Department. The Swadeshi League of Lucknow also contributed a great deal to the formation of the AISF. The students of this League captured the University Union and the U.P. Students' Federation. They convened an All-India Students' Conference at Lucknow on the 19th August, 1936, under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. It was in this conference that AISF came into existence and it was the first national organisation of students. The delegates to the conference were both political and apolitical. The conference was opened by Pandit Nehru. Mr. Jinnah agreed with Mr. Nehru that students should not indulge in aggressive politics but as leaders of tomorrow they should keep themselves abreast of world problems. He exhorted students not to be led away by emotions and should develop a sense of toleration and fellow-feeling. A special session of the AISF was held at Lahore on the 22nd November, 1936, under the presidentship of Sharad Chandra Bose. This conference directed a host of demands to the seven State Governments that were under the Congress control: a reduction in fees, the introduction of free and compulsory education, the elimination of anti-national ideas from text-books, the use of vernacular languages as media of instruction, compulsory recognition of students' unions by the Universities, student representation on the governing bodies of universities, more vocational training, relief for the unemployed, travelling concessions for students on railway and steamship lines, a ban on communal student organisations, an end to discrimination, free military education in schools and colleges, compulsory civics, economics and science in Secondary Education, and the elimination of degrading punishment such as caning and beating. Besides these demands, the conference resolved to apply for the affiliation to the World Students' Association. According to the directions of the AISF strikes were conducted in colleges and institutions when demands of students were not complied with. This happened in Bengal, Madras, Aligarh, U.P., Bombay and Lahore. Further, conferences were held to bring all students under one banner. In 1937, "The Students' Tribune", a journal was started to popularise the national organisation.

Within two years, the AISF claimed over 1,000 affiliated students' organisations with 50,000 members. Another important contribution to the student move-

ment was the rise of the State Students' Organisations. The Deccan States' Students' Conference was held at Khudachi (District Belgaum) on the 4th and 5th June, 1937, under the presidentship of Dr. G. S. Khair. Some twenty resolutions were adopted. Mr. Prabodh, the editor of the students' *Tribune*, inaugurated the All-Kashmir Students' Federation and dissolved all other unions and leagues. Later on, this Federation affiliated itself to the Punjab Students' Federation. The Madras Students' Federation started a journal, *Student*, to organise students of the South.

The session of the AISF was held at Madras on 1st January, 1938, under the presidentship of M. R. Masani. Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya inaugurated the session. Masani discussed the place of the student movement in political life of the country and was of the view that students could take part in politics. It must be noted that controversial resolutions were placed before the conference; consequently, differences among delegates arose. The controversy was sparked off by a resolution on Russia and eventually it was withdrawn. Next morning, Masani dissolved the conference owing to some procedural and constitutional difficulties and left it. The delegates remaining behind held the election of the president of the AISF and passed a no-confidence motion against the President, the General Secretary and the Members of the Working Committee. The fourth session of the AISF was held at Calcutta on 1st January, 1939, Dr. K. M. Ashraf was the president. Sharad Chandra Bose opened the conference and made an inspiring speech. Mr. Nehru also addressed the conference: he analysed the political situation and criticised communalists. He exhorted students that the student movement should be broad-based and must not be sectarian. Important resolutions concerning students and the country were adopted. In short, the conference ended with revolutionary slogans.

The fifth session of the AISF was convened at New Delhi on the 1st January, 1940, under the presidentship of Subash Chandra Bose. Mr. M. Farocqui was the chairman of the Reception Committee: in his welcome address, he deplored party politics in the student movement. The president explained to students as to how they should give a mighty and fatal blow to foreigners and was very much pained owing to the disunity among leftists and rightists, and the high-handed policy of the then Congress High Command. Next day some resolutions were passed. It was noted that most girl students kept aloof from the activities of the AISF and it was urged that they be associated with the Federation. A desire to attract the minority and Muslim students to the AISF was expressed. Lastly, it was pointed out that the Second World War was against the interest of the country.

Immediately after the establishment of the AISF two groups had come into existence: communist and non-communist. Because of the internecine rivalry between these groups the student movement in India was very much weakened. The communist section led by Dr. K. M. Ashraf and Hiren Mukerji was very

critical of the Indian National Congress and favoured more militant measures against the British than Gandhi's limited, non-violent Satyagrah Movement. The communist students had pre-planned to capture the student organisation at Nagpur. To this effect a secret circular was sent to all as to how they should conduct themselves in the conference. The sixth session of the AISF, was held at Nagpur on the 25th December, 1940, and witnessed a rupture in the organisation. Trouble arose because of the Federation elections in Bengal: communists tried to put up a number of candidates with a view to capture the organisation. This was strongly resented and frustrated by a majority of delegates who were Congressites. Two rival conferences were held in the evening, one under the presidency of Professor Hiren Mukerji and the other was presided over by Madan Mohan Prasad. Dr. K. M. Ashraf described Gandhi's Satyagrah Movement as a very poor protest against the British belligerency. Hiren Mukerji dwelt on the achievements of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Prasad vehemently told the conference that the Satyagrah Movement was the only right weapon that could be used against the British. All efforts at compromise having failed, delegates again met in two conferences on that night and passed two sets of resolutions relating to students' attitude towards the Second World War and various demands.

After the historic split in the student movement at Nagpur, the AISF held its convention at Banaras in 1941, to consider ways and means for a well-stabilised organisation to meet national demands and to consider the appeal of the communists regarding the proposed unity between nationalist and communist students. It met under the presidency of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. This convention could not bring about the desired unity between the two groups. During this year many students took part in the individual Satyagrah and they were put behind the bars by the government: the student world extended their sympathy to the students of Annamalai University by observing the Annamalai Day. In U.P. there was student agitation and unrest. The All-Kashmir Students' Conference was held in October, 1941. The All-India Students' Conference was held in December, 1941. The main issue before the conference was that of the freedom struggle. All their activities had to be centred round the national struggle. The seventh session of the AISF was held at Patna on the 27th and 28th December, 1941, under the presidency of Yusuf Meherally. Anugrah Narayan Sinha, in his inaugural address, analysed the defects of the educational system. Meherally emphasised the importance and necessity of students' participation in politics and dealt with the communal problem. The session concluded its deliberations after adopting a number of resolutions on politics, war and national unity. After the conference a mammoth meeting of students was held and it put the blame on communists for the split in the student movement: it further condemned the decision of the AISF (Farooqui group) to support war efforts.

The Indian National Congress sounded the bugle of war on British imperialism on the 14th July, 1942 and asked the people to be ready to sacrifice

everything for the nation. Among other sections of the Indian community, students were most eager to fight for freedom : they were very much in the forefront of the freedom struggle. The National Congress leaders met at Bombay on the 8th August, 1942, and gave an ultimatum to the government to "Quit India". They asked people to "do or die" for the motherland. The entire nation was electrified by this appeal. All leaders—including students leaders—were arrested. The news of their arrest was flashed round the country through radio and press. All organisations, except the C.P.I., the Radical Democratic party and other communal bodies, were declared illegal. All newspapers were banned and police and military raj was very much in operation to crush the freedom struggle. Students continued the fight vigorously : colleges, schools and hostels became the melting pots. Within three days of the struggle the youths and students took to revolutionary methods without guidance, organisation and programme. People did what they thought fit to counter the acts of the government. Violence for violence became the order of the day. In all important cities zeal, energy and sacrifices were given full expression to achieve the cherished goal—freedom. The youths and students in Bengal, Bihar, the C.P., Ballia in U.P., Assam, and Satara in Bombay Province, played most patriotic and valiant role in the struggle. In conclusion, it may be said that for days together the whole country was ablaze with fury. Till October students were on strike all over the country. It was indeed the mighty movement of students who braved the repression by the government.

By the end of 1942 students had to change their methods of fight because of new problems. The ruthless march of events in our country had changed the whole phase of the student movement. The student leaders had to overhaul and renovate their organisation. First, they had to get their organisation legalised and secondly, they had to fight the dreadful famine spreading from province to province. Lastly, they had to negate the propaganda of communists who were out to create obstacles in the growing ferment and power of nationalists. Rivalry among the student leaders had definitely harmed the student movement in India. The Nationalist students supported the 1942 "Quit India" Movement against the British while communists supported the war efforts. Consequently, many students left the C.P.I. and joined the nationalist students.

After 1943 the Congress Socialist Party played a notable role in the student movement. This party was then known as the most revolutionary party. During this period the student movement struck its roots in the important native states like Mysore, Travancore-Cochin, Kashmir, Indore, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner and Kolhapur. From 1940 nationalists and communists struggled hard to capture the AISC. Finally, communists succeeded in capturing the Federation. In 1945 nationalists with the support of the Congress Socialists reorganised themselves into the All-India Students' Congress. It appears from all the available sources that nothing notable was done by way of constructive programme : all the energies of students were wasted on party politics.

The special feature of the student movement from 1936 to 1946 was the gradual change from 'Federation' to 'communalisation and decentralisation'. This transformation was very dangerous as it marred the unity and integrity of the student movement.

The All-India Muslim Students' Federation came into existence in 1937 at the explicit support of the Muslim League. Jinnah had blessed this organisation and presided over its first conference at Calcutta on the 27th December, 1937. The conference resolved that it stood for the complete independence of India under a democratic and federal form of government with adequate safeguards for the rights of Muslims and other minorities. The second AIMSF's Conference was held at Patna on the 29th December, 1938. The Raja of Mahmudabad presided over and dealt with the aims and objectives of the Muslim League. Jinnah at length criticised the Congress and appealed to students to prepare themselves for sacrifices for the advancement of their community. Every year the conference was held and the Congress was criticised, to put it in the language of Jinnah as a 'Hindu organisation'.

To counter the divisive and dangerous activities of the AIMSF, the nationalist Muslim students formed an All-India Nationalist Muslim Students' Federation in 1942, at Lucknow. This organisation supported the Indian National Congress in its efforts to achieve Independence. It may, however, be said that the AINMSF could not further the cause either of their community or of the country for want of mass support among Muslim students.

As soon as the Muslim League began to mobilise the Muslim youths and students, some orthodox Hindus formed the Hindu Students' Federation. They too held their conference preaching communalism among students to fight the Muslim League and to establish a Hindu Raj in India. The Sikh students also created their own organisation to fight the Muslim domination in the Punjab. Then the whole atmosphere in the student community was contaminated by the communal, cultural and party hatred.

At the time of Independence, there were two major national student organisations in India; the AISF and the AISC. In addition, several political parties had their own smaller student and youth organisations: the Samajwadi Yuval Sabha (the Socialist-sponsored Young Socialist League), the Progressive Student Union (the Marxist Left Party's), and the Hindu Students' Federation and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh—RSS (Hindu Communal Parties). Non-party student activities centred round college-student unions, voluntary student organisations with annually elected officers. Some of these college unions were controlled by politically partisan students but others remained under non-party student control.

STUDENT MOVEMENTS (POST-INDEPENDENCE)

After Independence, sentiments against the association of student unions with political parties grew. The Congress leaders were of the opinion that there was no need for a national student political movement as Independence was already achieved. In 1950, in an effort to depoliticize students the Congress party took the lead in creating a national, non-political federation of the various student unions. The AISC disbanded itself, made an appeal to the AISF, the Communist-dominated organisation, to follow it, and created a National Union of Students. The first conference of the NUS held in September, 1950, was addressed by Nehru and Jaya Prakash Narayan, representatives of the Congress and the Socialist Parties respectively. The establishment of the NUS was not at all relished by the AISF which considered this as a ruse to win over students from the communist organisation.

In 1950, after the dissolution of the AISC, the Congress party tried to found a Youth Congress to carry on the work of youths affiliated with the Party. It is interesting to note that in the beginning even this attempt was not very much liked by many State Congress leaders. The reason for this dislike was the factionalism in the Congress and it was felt that a Youth Congress would simply add to their political difficulties. In some states young Congressmen had their own organisations and besides this, they had come into conflict with the State leadership because of the problem of the nomination of the candidates for the Legislative Assemblies. It appears that the young Congressmen were responsible for the creation of dissensions inside the Congress party. As a result of bickerings among the Congressmen, within a year, Youth Congress was wound up.

The Congress party was very much disturbed and could not reconcile itself to the new situation: it then formed a youth department under the direct control of the party organisation. In 1955, this department grew into a mass-membership organisation. However, it functioned under the auspices of the parent body. It appears from the available sources that the Congress party was never satisfied with the working of this department. Consequently, it appointed convenors to start a new Youth Congress in each State. In some States elections were held and presidents and secretaries were elected and the appointed convenors were replaced. It is something surprising to note that neither the National President nor the National Council of the Youth Congress was elected by the members or by the delegates to the national convention. The President of the Congress party had appointed an Advisory Committee to the Youth Congress. In 1957, the Youth Congress had two lakhs of members, of course, a large number of members were from Bihar and U.P. It appears that every district had a branch of the Youth Congress and it can be seen that it was more popular in rural areas than in urban places. It may be placed on record that more than half of its members are above 22 years. It means a majority of its membership does not belong to schools and colleges. In many places such as Calcutta the Youth

Congress has the support of young lawyers, businessmen, school teachers, doctors and small landowners who are essentially the recruits of the Congress party itself.

Partly to avoid factionalism within the party the activities of the Youth Congress are carefully restricted. Among its major functions are training youths and students for Congress party work, organising study circles to discuss problems facing the country, encouraging social service work to help the people in distress owing to floods and famines, canvassing during elections, and sponsoring sports and cultural activities. The national office of the Youth Congress is located in the main office of the Congress party in New Delhi: it publishes a monthly magazine for its members. A speciality of this magazine is an article by an illustrious Congress leader, meant for the education of the Youth Congress discussion groups. This is supposed to serve two purposes: (i) it may bring national leaders and young people closer and (ii) may acquaint youth and students with the programmes and principles of the Congress party. To arouse national pride youths and students are taken to dams, community development projects, multipurpose projects and the like. All this is done in the name of study tours. In 1956, for instance, four trains carrying 2000 youths and students toured the country for twenty-five days, travelling some 7-8 thousand miles. Youth camps are also organised to "impart true dignity to manual labour", to repair roads and school buildings, dig wells, reclaim land and so on. This was financed by the Union Ministry of Education which in its turn was allocated one crore of rupees by the Planning Commission for students and youths social service programmes. The Congress Seva Dal and the Bharat Sevak Sangh, a non-party social welfare body, also organise youth and student camps.

Political activity has been strongly discouraged by the Youth Congress. At a Youth Training Camp held in 1955, one State leader told those present that "there are two types of Congress work—parliamentary and constructive work. The AICC has been giving great importance to constructive work. Youth Department is one through which we can carry on work of a constructive nature, and the programme will give lasting results As regards parliamentary work, Youth Department has got little to do with it". The same Congressman added that "regarding special representation on the Congress Committees, a provision was made for women and backward classes. We never thought that youth should have a demand like this. I think that the Congress should be largely an organisation of young people, so that it is an insult to youth and their intelligence that they should need separate representation. They can work in the organisation and be elected in due course". The non-political constructive-work emphasis of the Youth Congress was stressed by another speaker. "Young people and students may be given special training in matters like love for the country, respect for the Constitution, obeying the national laws, honour the National Flag, avoiding

foul language, removal of casteism, communalism and provincialism, safeguarding public property and helping the Government to check travelling without tickets and other irregularities".

Discussions of controversial political and economic issues are avoided within the Youth Congress. The bulletin of the organisation, *Youth Congress*, publishes regular discussion guides, but these are intended to provide information to members about the Congress point of view rather than to elicit discussion. Youth Congress organisational reports have noted that their members are ill-equipped to enter into controversies with students in other political parties; but the absence of seminars, debates, forums, and the like, hardly encourages the development of a well-informed membership. The official attitude seems to be that students and youth must learn about the Congress point of view, not examine it, develop it, or disagree with it. If opposition parties have been successful in winning organised student support at the universities and colleges, the Congress has fallen behind by default. Eager to push students out of politics and into development work, the Congress party lost ground to the opposition parties, who in the meantime were winning student participation for electioneering work against the government and support for various movements against existing authorities. Even now, the Congress has no separate student organisation, and only in the past few years has it attempted to regain student support and control of student unions.

In contrast to the Congress party, the Communist-dominated AISF has been working continuously with students since 1936. Because it supported the war effort, the AISF was the only national student organisation that worked freely during the war years. But because of its opposition to the national movement at that time, it lost much of its support. In Bengal it regained some strength by its activities during the great famine in 1943. In 1948, the AISF was host to the World Federation of Democratic Youth Conference in Calcutta, and soon thereafter joined the militant Communist party struggle against the newly independent government. Not until 1951 did the AISF and C.P.I. become more moderate in its attitude towards the democratic process and towards the government. The AISF then took increasing interest in organising and controlling student unions at schools and colleges. In 1955, the AISF claimed a membership of over one lakh, with the largest numbers in Andhra (20,000), West Bengal (16,000), Hyderabad (14,000), Travancore-Cochin (13,000), and Uttar Pradesh (13,000), and a smaller membership in Bihar, Assam, Orissa, the Punjab and Rajasthan.

But the AISF claims that its influence goes beyond its membership and that it has played an active part in the various student movements that have swept the country. In West Bengal, a centre of the AISF activity, the Student Federation agitated against fee increments in schools and colleges, and was

active in the Bengal-Bihar merger agitation, in the teachers' strike and in the movement against increasing tram fares in 1953 and 1954. On the constructive side, the AISF—with financial support from the university, the Calcutta municipal government, membership donations, and private contributions—built a student Health Home, which has won it considerable support. The AISF maintains that in 1955 its members throughout the country participated in movements against increment of tuition fees, against difficulties of admission, in support of teachers' demands for better salary, in defence of union rights, for better facilities for education, for recognition of diplomas in technical institutions, against corrupt practices like removing teachers, etc.

Two other student movements claim national coverage, the Progressive Students Union, sponsored by the Marxist-left, and the Socialist-sponsored Socialist Student Organisation. The PSU was started in 1954 and claims thousands of members in Calcutta and tens of thousands nationally. Like members of the Youth Congress and the AISF, they are active in attempting to gain control of the various college unions, and have succeeded in a few of the Calcutta Colleges. They participated in the 1954 teachers' movement for higher wages, sent volunteers to the Goa Satyagrah campaign, and agitated against the attempt to merge the states of Bihar and West Bengal. In 1955, the PSU agitated against raising tuition fees, and in 1957 they participated in the protest against high food prices. The PSU is strongest in Calcutta, as are the other student groups in Bengal, and is less active in the rural schools and colleges. Its most active workers, like those of the Marxist-left parties that give it support, have come from East Bengal.

The Socialist-sponsored Socialist Student Organisation has some strength in the Colleges of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar but little in West Bengal. The SSO controls a few of the Calcutta College unions, and many of its members are active in other student groups, such as World University Service and the National Union of Students.

It is obvious from the above account that after Independence students have not given up their political activities nor have they devoted themselves to the academic pursuits and constructive work alone. They can be seen in any political or apolitical trouble in our country. They have completely failed in creating one all-India non-political organisation. Presently and politically they are very much divided and are being used by parties for political purposes.

II

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

An attempt is made here to study the political consciousness among college students in the light of the student movements reviewed in the first section above. Before Independence the grand objective of every type of movement was to

achieve national independence. Everyone in the country was aware of this, particularly the educated community—those who had the benefit of English education and of the political ideology as it had developed in the Western countries, particularly in England. Indian intellectuals had thoroughly imbibed the views of many English thinkers and political philosophers and their writings are full of references to them. In fact, students were the first to receive the impact of new ideas through English literature. No wonder that they were inspired and awakened politically. All the student movements to which a reference has been made in the earlier section above were directed by this extremely live consciousness.

On the Indian political scene there was hardly any difference between the Congress programme and the national aspirations. To be politically conscious was almost synonymous with the involvement in the Congress movements against the British. Right from 1905 the Congress and student community together fought against the British and the former used to encourage the latter to participate in politics. Obviously, students were found in every political movement, 1905, 1920, 1930 and 1942; their involvement increased notably during the Gandhian era. The other important party that was steadily building its strength was the Communist Party of India and this party succeeded in capturing the AISF almost from its beginning. The students associated with the Communist Organisation had perhaps a higher degree of consciousness because during that period at least the impression was that the objectives of the communists were wider than those of the Congress which were mainly restricted to achieving the Independence: the communist ideology claimed to reach much larger horizons and embraced the interest of mankind. So during the 1930's and particularly the 1940's, students working in the communist organisations considered themselves more alert in their consciousness, more committed in their activities and more broad-visioned than their counterparts in the Congress party. In the mid-30's the Socialist group came into being within the fold of the Congress party. Around the same time other parties like the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha also formed their own student organisations. But by and large it was the Congress party that had dominated students. After 1942 the Socialist group especially played a significant role in the student movements.

After Independence, students were advised to go back to their books and leave politics alone. The AISF was dissolved and it was felt that students need not have the type of consciousness that they had before the Independence. Obviously, the Congress party was deeply aware of their potential power and, therefore, it advised them to go back to their campuses and pursue academic work only. The other parties, however, still feel that their objective is yet far from being achieved, namely power to themselves and therefore they would very much like students to retain the same degree of consciousness that they had shown before Independence. From all this it becomes clear that students are

STATISTICAL
TABLES

TABLE I
Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males	Females	Total
Rajaram College			
Arts	102	55	157
Science	152	23	175
G. K. G. College			
Arts	155	31	186
Science	101	8	109
Kirti College			
Arts	21	23	44
Sub-total			
Arts	278	109	387
Science	253	31	284
Commerce	156	5	161
Law	19	—	19
Agriculture	17	1	18
Post-graduate	38	4	42
Total	761	150	911
Percentage	83.5	16.5	

TABLE 2
Place of Origin and Sex

Faculty	Rural			Urban			Size of sample
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	
Arts	170	9	179	108	100	208	387
Science	120	2	122	133	29	162	284
Commerce	78	2	80	78	3	81	161
Law	14	—	14	5	—	5	19
Agriculture	14	—	14	3	1	4	18
Post-graduate	29	1	30	9	3	12	42
Total	425	14	439	336	136	472	911
Percentage	96.81	3.19	48.19	71.19	28.81	51.81	

TABLE 3
Caste - Males

Caste /Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
Arts	44	16	—	142	16	6	32	—	9	8	5	278
Science	77	21	7	102	11	19	2	1	10	2	1	253
Commerce	51	14	4	50	6	22	5	—	3	—	1	156
Law	3	4	—	10	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	19
Agriculture	—	—	—	15	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	17
Post-graduate	5	1	1	16	5	5	4	—	—	—	1	38
Total	180	56	12	335	40	52	44	1	23	10	8	761
Percentage	23.65	7.36	1.58	44.02	5.26	6.83	5.78	0.13	3.02	1.31	1.05	

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers as given in Table 4 below.

TABLE 4
Caste - Females

Arts	66	7	3	27	1	2	—	2	—	1	1	109
Science	19	3	2	4	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	31
Commerce	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Post-graduate	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	4
Total	94	10	5	31	1	3	—	—	4	—	1	150
Percentage	62.67	6.66	3.33	20.67	0.67	2.00	—	—	2.67	0.67	0.67	

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers :

- 1 Brahmins & Others.
- 2 Jains.
- 3 Gujjars etc.
- 4 Marathas.
- 5 Lingayats.
- 6 Intermediate Hindus

7 Backward and
Scheduled Castes.

8 Neo-Buddhists.

9 Muslims.

10 Christians.

11 Not specified.

TABLE 5
Financial Position—Males and Females

Faculty	Financial Position							
	Males				Females			
	Good	Fair	Poor	Total	Good	Fair	Poor	Total
Arts	11	244	23	278	10	96	3	109
Science	10	229	14	253	3	27	1	31
Commerce	5	141	10	156	—	5	—	5
Law	1	17	1	19	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	15	2	17	—	1	—	1
Post-graduate	2	34	2	38	1	3	—	4
Total	29	680	52	761	14	132	4	150
Percentage	3.81	89.36	6.83	100.00	9.33	88.00	2.67	

TABLE 6
Age in Complete Years—Males

Faculty	Age-group							30 & above given	Total
	-15	15-17	18-20	21-23	24-26	27-29			
Arts	—	12	135	97	19	11	—	4	278
Science	—	55	155	40	3	—	—	—	253
Commerce	—	17	85	44	6	1	1	2	156
Law	—	—	—	7	6	6	—	—	19
Agriculture	—	2	12	3	—	—	—	—	17
Post-graduate	—	—	—	16	18	3	1	—	38
Total	—	86	387	207	52	21	2	6	761
Percentage	—	11.3	50.85	27.20	6.83	2.76	0.26	0.78	

TABLE 7
Age In Complete Years—Females

Faculty	Age-group							Total
	-15	15-17	18-20	21-23	24-26	27-29	30 & above given	
Arts	—	30	66	10	1	1	—	109
Science	—	20	10	1	—	—	—	31
Commerce	—	1	3	1	—	—	—	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Post-graduate	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	4
Total	—	52	79	14	2	1	1	150
Percentage	—	34.70	52.67	9.33	1.33	0.66	0.66	0.66

TABLE 8
Marital Status—Males and Females

Faculty	Males			Females		
	Un- married	Married	Total	Un- married	Married	Total
Arts	271	7	278	108	1	109
Science	250	3	253	31	—	31
Commerce	156	—	156	5	—	5
Law	10	9	19	—	—	—
Agriculture	17	—	17	1	—	1
Post-graduate	34	4	38	3	1	4
Total	738	23	761	148	2	150
Percentage	97.00	3.00	100.00	98.7	1.3	—

TABLE 9

Place of Residence in Kolhapur - Males

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
Arts	21	53	71	83	~	29	9	1	6	2	3
Science	26	63	28	101	17	8	3	4	1	2	253
Commerce	4	45	25	60	10	8	1	3	~	~	156
LAW	3	6	4	4	1	~	~	1	~	~	19
Agriculture	7	4	1	3	1	~	~	1	~	~	17
Post-graduate	1	9	19	6	1	~	~	~	~	2	38
Total	62	180	148	257	59	25	5	15	3	7	761
Percentage	8.14	23.65	19.44	33.77	7.75	3.28	0.65	1.97	0.39	0.91	

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers as given in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10

Place of Residence in Kolhapur- Females

Arts	~	4	87	4	12	1	1	~	~	~	109
Science	~	~	29	~	2	~	~	~	~	~	31
Commerce	~	~	5	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	5
LAW	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
Agriculture	~	~	~	1	~	~	~	~	~	~	1
Post-graduate	~	~	~	2	~	1	~	1	~	~	4
Total	~	~	4	124	4	15	1	2	~	~	150
Percentage	~	~	2.66	82.66	2.66	10.00	0.66	1.33	~	~	

Note : - Explanation of Code Numbers :

1 College Hostel.

2 Other Hostels.

3 Private Accommodation.

4 With Parents.

5 With Relatives.

6 With Guardians.

7 With Patrons.

8 Coming daily from village.

9 Other.

10 Not specified.

TABLE 11
Occupational Background of Guardians—Males

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11				Total	
											1-2	1-3	1-4	1-5	1-8	
Arts	147	21	37	36	3	1	4	8	4	12	1	2	—	—	1	1
Science	93	33	61	31	5	—	5	9	5	3	4	1	1	—	1	278
Commerce	59	29	23	19	1	—	6	4	6	4	4	—	—	—	—	253
Law	13	—	3	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	156
Agriculture	12	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
Post-graduate	25	3	4	2	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	17
Total	349	86	132	89	10	1	18	22	15	20	10	3	1	1	2	38
Percentage	45.86	11.30	17.35	11.70	1.30	0.03	2.36	2.69	1.97	2.60	1.31	—	—	—	—	761

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers :

- 1 Farming.
- 2 Trade & business.
- 3 Government Service.
- 4 Private Service.
- 5 Professions (independent).
- 6 Socio-political Worker.
- 7 Pensioner.
- 8 Well-to-do (Landlords).
- 9 Other.
- 10 Not specified.
- 11 More than one occupation.

TABLE 12
Occupational Background of Guardians-Females

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11			Total	
											1-2	4	1-5		
Arts	12	12	37	27	6	1	1	8	1	2	1	1	1	1	109
Science	2	9	12	4	—	1	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	31
Commerce	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Post-graduate	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	150
Total	17	21	53	32	7	2	2	10	1	3	1	1	1	1	150
Percentage	11.33	13.99	35.32	21.33	4.67	1.33	1.33	6.66	0.66	2.00	0.66	0.66	0.66	0.66	150

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers as given in Table 11 above.

TABLE 13

Faculty	Educational Attainments of Guardians—Males						9	10	11	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6				
Arts	9	67	47	41	24	13	16	3	220	53
Science	5	39	44	42	31	18	30	6	215	31
Commerce	3	36	13	31	16	9	4	2	134	20
Law	1	4	5	1	1	2	2	2	18	1
Agriculture	—	3	4	1	1	1	2	—	12	5
Post-graduate	3	10	12	3	2	—	2	—	32	5
Total	21	159	145	119	75	43	56	13	631	115
Percentage	3.33	25.20	22.98	18.86	11.89	6.81	8.87	2.06	82.92	15.11

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers :

1 Can sing only.

2 Can read & write.

3 Vernacular Final.

4 Non-matriculate.

5 Matriculate.

6 Non-graduate.

7 Graduate.

8 Highly educated.

9 Total literates.

10 Total illiterates.

11 Not specified.

TABLE 14

Faculty	Educational Attainments of Guardians—Females						9	10	11	Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6				
Arts	—	5	5	9	25	20	35	8	107	1
Science	—	1	2	5	9	2	8	4	31	—
Commerce	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	5	—
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	1
Post-graduate	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	4	4
Total	1	7	7	14	37	22	44	16	148	1
Percentage	0.67	4.73	4.73	9.46	25.00	14.86	29.73	10.81	98.66	0.66

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers as given in Table 13 above.

TABLE 15
Reading Newspapers - Sex and Faculty

Faculty	Males			Females		
	Readers	Non-readers	Total	Readers	Non-readers	Total
Arts	274	4	278	108	1	109
Science	251	2	253	31	—	31
Commerce	156	—	156	5	—	5
Law	19	—	19	—	—	—
Agriculture	17	—	17	1	—	1
Post-graduate	37	1	38	4	—	4
Total	754	7	761	149	1	150
Percentage	99.08	0.92	100.00	99.33	0.67	

TABLE 16
Reading Newspaper-Caste & Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban		
	Readers	Non-readers	Total	Readers	Non-readers	Total
1	70	1	71	200	3	203
2	32	—	32	34	—	34
3	6	1	7	10	—	10
4	200	1	201	164	1	165
5	29	—	29	12	—	12
6	30	—	30	25	—	25
7	41	1	42	2	—	2
8	1	—	1	—	—	—
9	15	—	15	12	—	12
10	5	—	5	6	—	6
11	6	—	6	3	—	3
Total	435	4	439	468	4	472
Percentage	99.09	0.01	100.00	99.15	0.85	

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 7

Interest in columns of Newspapers - Males

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Arts	150	59	85	70	145	23	88	160	52	141	187	117	195	107	274	278
Science	157	58	73	76	184	14	84	157	52	104	175	82	173	94	251	253
Commerce	95	28	41	68	104	9	53	103	27	96	117	79	124	69	156	156
Law	7	4	8	10	12	—	8	13	4	8	12	11	16	12	19	19
Agriculture	8	7	10	4	10	2	7	12	4	13	14	7	17	10	17	17
Postgraduate	23	11	15	16	23	3	15	25	14	20	31	17	33	21	37	38
Total	440	167	232	244	478	51	255	470	153	482	536	313	558	213	754	761
Percentage	57.28	21.71	30.16	31.72	62.14	6.63	33.15	61.10	19.89	62.66	69.68	40.69	72.54	40.69	—	—

Note: Explanation of code numbers :-

- 1 Films.
- 2 Dicorates and kidnappings.
- 3 Love-affairs.
- 4 Advertisements and public notices.
- 5 Cartoons.
- 6 Crosswords.
- 7 Accidents.
- 8 Sports

TABLE 18

Interest in columns of newspapers - Females

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Arts	77	32	20	51	75	29	56	72	31	52	72	31	61	35	108	109
Science	22	12	7	12	19	6	13	21	4	20	17	4	21	4	31	31
Commerce	4	—	—	1	1	—	1	4	1	4	5	2	4	2	5	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Postgraduate	2	—	—	4	4	—	1	3	3	2	3	—	3	1	4	4
Total	106	45	27	69	99	35	72	100	39	78	97	37	89	42	149	150
Percentage	71.02	30.15	18.09	46.23	66.33	23.45	48.24	67.00	26.13	52.78	64.99	24.79	59.63	28.14	—	—

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 17.

TABLE 19
Reading Periodicals - Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females			
	Readers	Non-readers	Not specified	Total	Readers	Non-readers	Not specified	Total
Arts	267	10	1	278	106	3	—	109
Science	233	20	—	253	29	2	—	31
Commerce	145	11	—	156	5	—	—	5
Law	18	1	—	19	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	16	1	—	17	1	—	—	1
Postgraduate	36	2	—	38	4	—	—	4
Total	715	45	1	761	145	5	—	150
Percentage	93.96	5.91	0.13	100.00	96.67	3.33	—	—

TABLE 20
Reading Periodicals - Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural				Urban			
	Readers	Non-readers	Not Specified	Total	Readers	Non-readers	Not Specified	Total
1	70	1	—	71	197	6	—	203
2	30	2	—	32	34	—	—	34
3	6	1	—	7	10	—	—	10
4	184	17	—	201	154	11	—	165
5	23	5	1	29	12	—	—	12
6	29	1	—	30	25	—	—	25
7	39	3	—	42	1	1	—	2
8	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
9	15	—	—	15	11	1	—	12
10	5	—	—	5	6	—	—	6
11	6	—	—	6	3	—	—	3
Total	407	31	1	439	453	19	—	472
Percentage	92.71	—	—	100.00	95.97	4.03	—	—

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 21
Interest in columns of Periodicals - Males

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Arts	129	132	49	138	16	118	66	139	98	148	170	172	1	—	267	278
Science	124	103	40	161	14	121	55	183	72	107	145	149	2	2	233	253
Commerce	82	66	42	90	5	68	34	83	71	85	103	93	—	—	145	156
Law	8	7	7	8	—	5	4	7	7	13	15	10	—	—	18	19
Agriculture	4	10	3	9	2	8	4	11	6	11	13	11	—	—	16	17
Postgraduate	14	21	11	24	4	11	15	18	17	29	31	30	—	—	36	38
Total	361	339	152	430	41	331	178	441	271	393	477	465	3	2	715	761
Percentage	50.50	47.43	21.16	60.16	5.74	46.13	24.90	61.70	37.91	54.98	66.73	65.05	0.42	0.28	93.96	

Note : Explanation of code numbers

- 1 Films.
- 2 Love stories.
- 3 Advertisements.
- 4 Cartoons.
- 5 Crosswords.
- 6 Detective Stories.
- 7 Religious.
- 8 Scientific.
- 9 Economic.
- 10 Social.
- 11 Political.
- 12 Educational.
- 13 Other.
- 14 Reading all columns.
- 15 Total readers.

TABLE 22
Interest in columns of Periodicals - Females

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Arts	70	39	29	72	23	62	28	48	22	51	53	64	—	—	106	109
Science	15	8	7	16	5	18	3	21	2	14	14	14	—	1	29	31
Commerce	4	1	1	—	3	2	5	2	3	4	5	—	—	5	5	
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Agriculture	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
Postgraduate	1	1	1	3	—	1	1	3	—	4	3	2	—	—	4	4
Total	91	49	39	93	29	85	34	77	26	73	74	85	—	1	145	150
Percentage	62.75	33.79	26.89	64.13	19.99	53.61	23.45	53.10	17.93	50.34	51.03	58.61	—	0.69	96.67	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 21.

TABLE 23

Faculty	Reading Party Newspapers - Faculty and Sex (Males)																Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Arts	32	2	2	3	3	—	1	4	5	1	—	—	—	53	170	223	55
Science	29	3	3	5	—	—	—	3	6	1	—	—	—	50	126	176	77
Commerce	22	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	—	—	—	29	98	127	29
Law	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	16	18	1
Agriculture	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	8	11	6
Postgraduate	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	27	33	5
Total	91	7	5	8	3	—	2	9	15	2	—	1	—	143	445	588	173
Percentage	63.63	4.90	3.50	5.59	2.10	—	1.40	6.29	10.48	1.40	—	0.70	—	24.32	75.68	77.27	22.73

Note: Explanation of code numbers:-
 1 Congress Party.
 2 P. S. P.
 3 Socialist Party.
 4 Communist Party.

5 Jan Sangh.
 6 Hindu Maha Sabha.
 7 Republican party.
 8 Peasants and Workers Party

9 Samyukta Samiti.
 10 Swatantra Party.
 11 Lal Nishan Gat.
 12 Muslim League.
 13 Party not specified.
 14 Readers of one party newspapers.
 15 Readers of more than one party newspapers.
 16 Total readers.
 17 Non-readers.

TABLE 24

Faculty	Reading Party newspapers-Faculty and Sex (Females)																Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Arts	23	1	—	3	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	29	14	43	66
Science	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	11	6	17	14
Commerce	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	4	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1
Postgraduate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	1	4
Total	34	1	—	3	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	41	24	65	85
Percentage	82.93	2.44	—	7.32	—	—	—	2.44	4.89	—	—	—	—	63.08	36.92	43.33	56.67

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 25
Reading Party newspapers - Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban		
	Readers	Non-readers	Total	Readers	Non-readers	Total
1	54	17	71	121	82	203
2	26	6	32	25	9	34
3	5	2	7	5	5	10
4	161	40	201	110	55	165
5	21	8	29	9	3	12
6	25	5	30	18	7	25
7	33	9	42	2	—	2
8	—	1	1	—	—	—
9	14	1	15	8	4	12
10	5	—	5	4	2	6
11	4	2	6	3	—	3
Total	348	91	439	305	167	472
Percentage	79.27	20.73	100.00	64.62	35.38	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 26
Reasons for Reading Party newspapers—Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Getting free of charge	16	—
Liking	538	56
Forced by party	1	1
Compelled by elders	3	5
Forced by friends	3	—
Persuaded by party	53	2
Persuaded by elders	21	14
Persuaded by friends	3	—
Facilities made available for reading	247	29
Other newspapers not available	12	—
Other	11	1
Not specified	14	3
Total	588	65

TABLE 27
Reasons for Not Reading Party newspapers - Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Elders not permitting	5	1
No liking	106	40
Short of time	4	—
Fear of being branded as party-man	6	—
Prejudicial views of party newspapers	48	36
Not getting free of charge	5	3
No facilities made available for reading	23	8
Friends not reading	5	—
Economic difficulties	7	3
Other	—	—
Not specified	—	—
Total	209	91

TABLE 28

Reading Party literature - Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Arts	26	2	3	3	—	3	6	4	1	—	48	117	165	110	3	27
Science	14	4	2	1	—	1	2	5	—	1	30	81	111	139	3	53
Commerce	13	3	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	28	58	86	69	1	56
Law	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	10	12	7	—	19
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	8	10	7	—	17
Postgraduate	4	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	7	17	24	14	—	38
Total	59	9	6	4	1	5	10	21	1	1	117	291	408	346	7	761
Percentage	50.42	7.69	5.12	3.41	0.85	4.2	8.5	17.94	0.85	0.85	28.68	71.32	54.61	45.45	0.91	

Note : Explanation of code numbers :

1 Congress Party.

4 Jan Sangh.

5 Hindu Mahasabha.

6 Republican Party of India.

7 Peasants and Workers Party.

2 P. S. P.

9 Lal Nishan Gat.

10 Party not specified.

11 Readers of one party literature.

12 Readers of more than one party literature.

13 Total Readers.

14 Total non-readers.

15 Not specified.

TABLE 29

Reading Party literature-Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Arts	9	1	—	1	3	—	—	14	27	41	—	68	109
Science	2	—	—	1	2	—	—	5	5	10	—	21	31
Commerce	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	2	—	3	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1
Postgraduate	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	2	4
Total	12	1	1	2	5	1	—	22	34	56	—	94	150
Percentage	54.54	4.5	4.5	9.00	22.72	4.5	—	39.29	60.71	37.33	—	62.66	

Note : Explanation of code numbers :

1 Congress Party.

4 Jan Sangh.

5 S. M. S.

6 Lal Nishan Gat.

7 Party not specified.

8 Readers of one party literature.

9 Readers of more than one party literature.

TABLE 25
Reading Party literature - Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban			Total
	Readers	Non-readers	Not specified	Total Readers	Non-readers	Not specified	
1	38	32	1	71	84	119	203
2	20	12	—	32	20	14	34
3	1	6	—	7	2	8	10
4	114	84	3	201	80	82	165
5	13	16	—	29	8	4	12
6	16	14	—	30	14	11	25
7	26	16	—	42	1	1	2
8	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
9	7	8	—	15	7	5	12
10	3	2	—	5	6	—	6
11	4	2	—	6	—	3	3
Total	242	193	4	439	222	247	472
Percentage	55.12	43.96	0.91	99.99	47.03	52.33	0.63

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 26
Reasons For Reading Party Literature - Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Getting free of charge	13	4
Liking	344	39
Compelled by Party	3	2
Forced by elders	2	2
Forced by friends	2	—
Persuaded by party	45	2
Persuaded by elders	19	7
Persuaded by friends	1	—
Facilities made available for reading	135	20
Other literature not available	10	2
Other	—	—
Not specified	22	4
Total	403	56

TABLE 32
Reasons For Not Reading Party Literature — Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Elders not allowing	9	3
No liking	211	75
Short of time	43	1
Fear of being branded as partyman	17	—
Fear of not getting Government service in future	12	—
Not getting free of charge	22	4
Facilities not made available for reading	98	11
Friends not reading	7	1
Economic difficulties	22	—
Other	--	—
Not specified	32	16
Total	346	94

TABLE 33

Faculty	Reading Political Literature - Faculty and Sex (Males)					9	10 total
	1	2	3	4	5		
Arts	195	74	69	89	72	51	215
Science	153	49	42	58	56	36	165
Commerce	113	32	37	54	38	20	123
Law	14	8	9	9	8	2	14
Agriculture	12	5	3	7	4	—	3
Postgraduate	28	11	9	19	15	10	29
Total	515	179	169	236	193	119	558
Percentage	92.29	32.08	30.29	42.29	34.59	21.33	73.2

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers :

- 1 Democracy.
- 2 Dictatorship.
- 3 Capitalism.
- 4 Socialism.
- 5 Communism.
- 6 Gandhism.

7 Sarvodaya Philosophy.

8 Total readers.

9 Total non-readers.

TABLE 34

Faculty	Reading Political Literature-Faculty and Sex (Females)					9	10 total
	1	2	3	4	5		
Arts	47	22	11	11	10	9	14
Science	12	2	1	2	1	3	5
Commerce	3	3	2	3	3	1	4
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
Postgraduate	4	—	—	1	—	1	4
Total	67	27	14	17	14	13	73
Percentage	91.78	36.99	19.18	23.29	19.18	17.81	48.7

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 33.

TABLE 35
Reading Political Literature — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban		
	Readers	Non-readers	Total	Readers	Non-readers	Total
1	50	21	71	115	88	203
2	26	6	32	25	9	34
3	2	5	7	8	2	10
4	151	50	201	113	52	165
5	19	10	29	8	4	12
6	24	6	30	18	7	25
7	33	9	42	1	1	2
8	—	1	1	—	—	—
9	11	4	15	10	2	12
10	4	1	5	4	2	6
11	6	—	6	3	—	3
Total	326	113	439	305	167	472
Percentage	74.3	25.7	100.00	64.4	35.6	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 36
Reasons for Not Reading Political Literature — Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Not permitted by elders	9	—
No liking for political literature	121	58
Short of time	24	3
Not getting free of charge	19	3
Facilities not made available for reading	65	9
Financial difficulties	15	—
Friends not reading	3	—
Other	—	—
Not specified	12	8
Total	203	77

TABLE 37

Discussion of Political Issues Among Friends - Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Arts	123	124	61	73	49	38	147	81	73	127	97	41	28	12	237	36	5	278
Science	132	124	54	41	44	36	120	53	58	91	62	33	29	11	204	48	1	253
Commerce	84	73	36	34	34	19	91	51	45	74	45	14	15	5	141	3	12	156
Law	9	8	6	5	7	7	8	7	5	9	8	2	1	3	16	—	3	19
Agriculture	13	9	5	6	7	6	12	5	7	11	9	2	—	—	17	—	—	17
Postgraduate	19	17	9	9	7	3	22	12	6	16	15	1	7	7	38	—	—	38
Total	380	355	171	168	148	109	400	209	194	328	236	93	80	38	653	87	21	761
Percentage	58.56	54.35	26.18	25.72	22.66	16.69	61.24	31.00	29.70	50.22	36.13	14.24	12.25	5.82	85.80	11.43	2.75	

Note : Explanation of code numbers :

- 1 National matters.
- 2 International affairs.
- 3 Communism.
- 4 Socialism.
- 5 Local problems.
- 6 Provincial issues.
- 7 Democracy.
- 8 Capitalism.
- 9 Dictatorship.
- 10 Political leaders.
- 11 Party programme.
- 12 Sarvodaya philosophy.
- 13 Gandhism.
- 14 Other.
- 15 Total males discussing.
- 16 Total males not discussing.
- 17 Not specified.
- 18 Total males.

TABLE 38

Discussion of Political Issues Among Friends - Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	-1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Arts	32	24	6	11	11	5	32	13	15	33	16	11	3	2	70	35	4	109
Science	8	7	—	—	2	—	5	1	1	11	3	4	4	—	18	13	—	31
Commerce	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Postgraduate	3	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	—	2	2	1	—	—	—	4	—	4
Total	43	34	8	13	17	7	41	16	17	51	22	17	7	3	97	49	4	150
Percentage	44.33	35.05	8.25	13.40	17.53	7.22	42.27	16.50	17.53	52.58	22.68	17.53	7.22	3.09	64.66	32.92	2.42	

Note : Explanation of code numbers given below Table 37.

TABLE 39
Discussion of Political Issues Among friends -
Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban		
	Discussing	Not discussing	Total students	Discussing	Not discussing	Total students
1	60	11	71	154	49	203
2	29	3	32	24	10	34
3	6	1	7	8	2	10
4	170	31	201	132	33	165
5	28	1	29	10	2	12
6	25	5	30	24	1	25
7	34	8	42	2	—	2
8	—	1	1	—	—	—
9	15	—	15	10	2	12
10	5	—	5	5	1	6
11	6	—	6	3	—	3
Total	378	61	439	372	100	472
Percentage	86.09	13.89		78.81	21.18	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 40

Faculty	Attending Meetings and Discussions Afterwards - Faculty and Sex (Males)						Total Males
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Arts	135	75	51	158	103	2	6
Science	95	63	40	126	66	--	20
Commerce	70	36	21	103	50	--	1
Law	11	9	3	14	9	--	1
Agriculture	11	6	7	10	8	--	1
Postgraduate	21	5	2	22	11	--	6
Total	343	194	124	433	247	2	34
Percentage	53.59	30.31	19.38	67.66	38.59	0.31	5.31

Note : Explanation of Code Numbers :

- 1 The oratory of speaker
- 2 His personality.
- 3 His character
- 4 His views.
- 5 Programme of his Party.
- 6 Other.
- 7 All items.
- 8 Total No attending and discussing.

TABLE 41

Faculty	Attending Meetings and Discussions Afterwards - Faculty and Sex (Females)						Total Females
	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Arts	60	44	11	55	15	--	2
Science	11	5	2	11	1	--	5
Commerce	4	1	--	2	1	--	4
Law	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Agriculture	1	--	--	--	--	--	1
Postgraduate	4	1	--	3	--	--	4
Total	80	51	13	71	17	--	7
Percentage	71.43	45.54	11.61	63.39	15.18	--	6.25

Note : Explanation of code numbers given below Table 40.

TABLE 42
Attending Meetings and Discussions Afterwards –
Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban		
	Attending and discussing	Not attending not discuss- ing not specified	Total rural students	Attending and discussing	Not attending not discuss- ing not specified	Total urban students
1	57	14	71	153	50	203
2	28	4	32	23	11	34
3	6	1	7	8	2	10
4	181	20	201	132	33	165
5	28	1	29	11	1	12
6	27	3	30	18	7	25
7	38	4	42	2	—	2
8	—	1	1	—	—	—
9	15	—	15	9	3	12
10	5	—	5	4	2	6
11	5	1	6	2	1	3
Total	390	49	439	362	110	472
Percentage	88.84	11.16		76.71	23.29	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 43
Attending Study Circles-Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	Males												Total not specified	Total males
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	11	13	Total attending		
Arts	21	3	1	4	7	—	1	5	2	2	2	48	223	7
Science	12	3	—	—	4	—	—	1	1	1	1	23	223	7
Commerce	10	3	—	—	1	2	—	1	2	—	—	20	133	3
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	18	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	—
Postgraduate	7	1	1	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	14	24
Total	50	10	2	8	13	1	2	9	5	3	3	106	638	17
Percentage	47.16	9.43	1.88	7.55	12.26	0.94	1.88	8.49	4.71	2.83	2.83	13.93	83.84	2.23

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 43 (Continued).
Attending Study Circles - Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	Females					Total not specified	Total females
	1	2	4	5	Total attending		
Arts	1	1	1	1	4	105	—
Science	1	—	—	—	1	29	1
Commerce	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Postgraduate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	2	1	1	1	5	144	1
Percentage	40.0	20.0	20.0	20.0	3.33	96.00	0.67

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 44 (Continued)
• Attending Study Circles - Faculty and Sex

Caste	Urban													Not specified students	Total students
	1	2	4	5	6	9	11	13	Total attending	Not attending	Not specified				
Brahmins and others	6	1	—	6	—	—	—	—	13	163	2	203	1	34	
Jains	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31	—	—	—	10	
Gujar etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	165	
Marathas	9	3	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	17	147	—	—	12	
Lingayats	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	10	—	—	25	
Intermediate Hindus	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	23	—	—	2	
B. & S. Castes	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
Muslims	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	10	—	—	12	
Christians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	6	
Not specified	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	3	
Total	19	7	1	7	1	2	2	1	40	423	4	472	—	—	
Percentage	47.50	17.50	2.50	17.50	2.50	5.00	5.00	2.50	8.47	90.69	0.84	—	—	—	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 45
Subjects Discussed at Study Circles - Sex (Males)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Total
Arts	28	22	11	6	9	9	23	6	9	14	13	7	7	7	6	48
Science	12	6	4	3	5	9	10	--	4	8	2	2	4	--	5	23
Commerce	11	10	10	3	7	5	6	1	--	9	5	2	4	3	1	20
Law	1	1	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	1	--	--	--	--	1
Agriculture	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Postgraduate	10	4	2	1	2	4	7	2	2	6	2	3	--	--	3	14
Total	62	43	28	13	23	27	47	9	15	38	23	14	15	3	15	106
Percentage	58.49	40.57	26.42	12.26	21.70	25.47	44.34	8.49	14.15	35.85	22.64	14.15	15.09	2.83	15.09	

Note : Explanation of code numbers :

- 1 Party policy.
- 2 Policies of other parties.
- 3 I.e. Jats.
- 4 Local and provincial problems.
- 5 National matters.
- 6 International issues.
- 7 Democracy.
- 8 Dictatorship.
- 9 Capitalism.
- 10 Socialism.
- 11 Communism.
- 12 Gandhism.
- 13 Sarvodaya Philosophy.
- 14 Other.
- 15 All subjects discussed.

TABLE 45-A
Reasons For Not Attending Study Circles - Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
No liking	59	13
Waste of time	188	35
Fear of being branded as party man	23	6
Fear of not getting Government job in future	14	3
Friends not attending	10	5
Parties do not insist	72	14
Away from home	28	16
Party indoctrinates	313	68
Other	11	2
Total students	638	144

TABLE 46

Attending Caste Meetings - Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	Total										Total males not specified	Total males	Total males		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
Arts	70	23	10	30	19	2	—	3	52	10	94	181	3	278	
Science	38	11	4	18	6	2	1	4	33	3	58	190	5	253	
Commerce	27	9	2	13	5	3	—	—	15	1	40	116	—	156	
Law	4	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	5	14	—	19	
Agriculture	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	5	—	6	11	—	17
Postgraduate	10	1	—	6	1	—	—	—	—	7	1	11	27	—	38
Total	150	45	17	69	32	7	1	7	114	15	214	539	8	761	
Percentage	70.56	21.02	7.94	32.24	14.95	3.2	0.46	3.2	53.27	7.00	28.12	71.88	3.73		

Note : Explanation of code numbers :

- Amalgamation of caste.
- To get the caste candidate elected.
- Personal benefit.
- To get educational concessions & facilities.
- To gain political importance.
- Forced by the caste members.
- Compelled by friends.
- Persuaded by elders.
- Out of self-conviction.
- Other.

TABLE 47
Attending Caste Meetings : Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty							Total females	Total attending	Total females	Not specified	Total females
	1	2	4	5	8	9					
Arts	12	1	3	1	2	12	1	15	94	—	109
Science	2	1	1	—	—	1	—	3	27	1	31
Commerce	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Postgraduate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4
Total	15	2	4	1	2	13	1	19	130	1	150
Percentage	78.94	10.52	21.05	5.26	10.52	68.42	5.26	12.67	87.33	0.66	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 46.

TABLE 48
Attending Caste Meetings - Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural				Urban				Total students not attending	Total students not attending	Total students not attending	Total students not attending	Total students not attending	Total students not attending	
	Total students attending	Total students not attending	Not specified	Total students	Total students attending	Not specified	Total students attending	Total students not attending							
1	12	59	—	71	34	167	2	203	—	—	—	—	—	—	34
2	13	18	1	32	13	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
3	1	6	—	7	3	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	165
4	61	135	5	201	26	138	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
5	7	22	—	29	4	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25
6	10	20	—	30	4	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
7	27	15	—	42	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	4	11	—	15	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10	3	2	—	5	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6
11	2	4	—	6	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Total	140	293	6	439	93	376	3	472	—	—	—	—	—	—	472
Percentage	31.89	66.74	1.47	—	19.70	79.66	0.64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 49
Membership of Party - Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	Total												Total Males											
	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	9	10	11	13	Members												
A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	A	P	Non-members												
Arts	11	19	—	1	—	—	2	2	1	3	3	7	1	5	1	1	—	—	22	40	216	278		
Science	1	8	—	2	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	2	16	235	253	
Commerce	5	7	—	1	—	—	1	—	2	—	1	—	1	2	6	—	1	—	1	7	21	128	156	
Law	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	15	19	
Agriculture	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	14	17	
Postgraduate	1	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	10	27	38	
Total	19	44	—	4	—	—	—	—	4	2	6	3	4	3	12	4	13	1	2	1	—	2	33	93
	63	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	126	635	761	
Percentage	50.00	3.17	—	3.17	6.34	5.55	11.90	13.49	2.38	0.79	1.58	16.55	83.43											

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

Explanation of A : Active. P : Passive.

TABLE 50
Membership of Party - Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban			Non-members	Total students	
	Members		Non-members	Total	Members				
	Active	Passive			Active	Passive	Total		
1	1	4	5	66	71	3	11	14	
2	1	7	8	24	32	2	3	5	
3	—	3	3	4	7	—	—	—	
4	13	29	42	159	201	6	13	19	
5	1	2	3	26	29	—	2	2	
6	—	5	5	25	30	2	2	4	
7	2	6	8	34	42	—	1	1	
8	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	
9	1	3	4	11	15	—	1	1	
10	—	2	2	3	5	1	1	2	
11	—	1	1	5	6	1	—	—	
Total	19	62	81	358	439	15	34	49	
Percentage	23.37	76.26	18.45	82.34	30.60	69.36	10.38	88.83	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 51
Party Members - Place of Origin

Party	Rural	Urban
1	42	23
2	1	4
3	—	2
4	1	3
5	6	2
6	—	—
7	7	—
8	13	2
9	8	10
10	1	2
11	1	—
13	1	1
Total members	81	49

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 52
Reasons For Non-membership of Party - Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
1	218	45
2	51	17
3	39	15
4	271	83
5	188	32
6	39	1
7	22	1
8	26	1
9	72	6
10	17	4
11	14	2
Not specified	42	8
Total Non-members	637	144

Note : Explanation of code numbers :

- 1 Lack of time.
- 2 Elders not permitting.
- 3 Friends not members.
- 4 Dislike for party regimentation.
- 5 Minor.
- 6 Fear of being branded as party man.
- 7 Fear of not getting Government Service
- 8 No attempts on the part of parties to make members.
- 9 Belief in non-party politics.
- 10 Disbelief in democracy.
- 11 Other.

TABLE 53
Sympathy For Party - Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	Sympathy for one party												Sympathy for two or more parties		Total miles		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15		
Arts	35	7	3	5	3	—	2	7	8	—	1	2	73	156	229	45	
Science	36	2	3	3	5	—	—	6	3	—	2	60	137	197	50	6	
Commerce	17	5	1	1	2	—	—	3	8	—	—	1	38	91	129	23	
Law	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	15	16	2	1	
Agriculture	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	9	13	3	17	
Postgraduate	5	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	8	28	36	2	—
Total	95	15	8	11	10	1	2	11	22	3	1	5	184	436	620	125	16
Percentage	51.63	8.15	4.35	5.98	5.43	0.54	1.08	5.98	11.95	1.63	0.54	2.71	29.68	70.32	81.47	16.42	2.10

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 54
Sympathy For Party - Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	Sympathy For Party									Sympathy For Party			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	Non-specified	Not王者	Total females
										sympathy for one more than one party			
Arts	20	1	2	2	1	5	12	45	28	73	32	4	109
Science	9	--	--	--	1	--	3	13	4	17	14	--	31
Commerce	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	4	5	--	--	5
Law	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Agriculture	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	1
Postgraduate	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	2	3	1	4
Total	32	1	2	2	2	5	15	61	38	99	47	4	150
Percentage	52.45	1.64	3.28	3.28	3.28	8.20	24.58	61.62	38.38	66.03	31.35	2.62	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 55

Sympathy For Party : Caste and Place of Origin (Rural)

Caste	Sympathy For Party													Total Non- speci- fied thi- sers	Total Non- speci- fied stu- dents				
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13						
Brahmins & others	10	1	1	—	2	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	17	45	62	9	—	71
Jains	10	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	17	28	3	1	32
Gujars etc	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5	6	1	—	7
Marathas	24	5	2	1	—	—	—	—	5	6	—	—	3	46	123	169	29	3	201
Lingayats	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	6	19	25	4	—	29
Intermediate Hindus	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	8	17	25	3	2	30
B. & S. Castes	—	1	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	33	38	4	—	42
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1
Muslims	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	4	9	13	1	1	15
Christians	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	4	1	—	5
Not specified	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3	3	—	6
Total	59	8	5	3	2	1	3	9	8	—	1	3	102	272	374	58	7	439	
Percentage	57	7.84	2.94	0.96	2.94	0.96	2.94	8.82	7.84	—	0.96	2.94	27.27	72.73	85.20	13.21	1.59		

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 56

Sympathy for Party : Caste and Place of Origin (Urban)

Caste	Sympathy for Party													Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	8	9	10	13	one	one	party	
Brahmins and Others	22	4	2	5	10	2	—	16	2	1	64	81	145	54
Jains	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	16	25	8
Gujars etc.	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1	6	3
Marathas	21	1	3	3	—	—	6	10	—	1	45	79	124	37
Lingayats	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	4	4	8	3
Intermediate Hindus	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	13	19	6
B. & S. Castes	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	3	7	3
Christians	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	6	—
Not specified	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3	—
Total	68	8	5	10	10	2	7	29	2	2	143	202	345	114
Percentage	47.55	5.59	3.49	6.99	6.29	1.39	4.89	20.28	1.39	1.39	41.45	58.55	73.10	24.16
														2.74

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 58
Participation In Party Activities - Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	1	5	9	13	Total			Total Non- parti- cipants	Total females
					Total parti- cipants	Total parti- cipants in one party	Total parti- cipants in more than one party		
Arts	3	1	2	8	14	5	5	19	90
Science	3	—	1	1	5	1	—	6	25
Commerce	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1
Postgraduate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Total	7	1	3	9	20	6	26	124	150
Percentage	35.00	5.00	15.00	45.00	76.92	23.08	17.33	82.67	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 59

Participation in Party Activities - Caste and Place of Origin (Rural)

Caste	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	11	13	Other	Total	Total Non-participants	Total students	
											Total participants	Participants in one party	Participants in more than one party	
Brahmins and others	1	1	1	2	—	—	1	—	6	1	9	22	49	71
Jains	14	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	5	21	11	32
Gujars etc.	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	5
Marathas	27	1	1	—	3	2	3	—	4	—	41	79	120	7
Lingayats	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	4	8	12	201
Intermediate Hindus	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	2	8	12	29
B. & S. Castes	—	—	—	—	5	1	—	—	1	—	7	15	10	30
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	22	42
Muslims	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	1
Christians	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	1	4	15
Not specified	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	5
Total	50	3	2	4	9	5	4	1	15	1	94	132	226	6
Percentage	53.20	3.18	2.12	4.25	9.64	5.32	4.25	1.06	15.96	1.06	41.60	58.40	51.48	43.9
														48.52

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 60
Participation In Party Activities - Caste and Place of Origin (Urban)

Caste	1	2	4	5	7	8	9	13	Total		Total parti- cipants in more than one party	Total parti- cipants in one party	Total parti- cipants	Total Non- parti- cipants	Total stu- dents
									parti- cipants	parti- cipants					
Brahmins and others	12	1	1	2	—	—	7	8	31	13	44	159	203	34	21
Jains	3	—	—	—	—	—	2	3	8	5	13	—	—	—	—
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	3	7	10	—	—
Marathas	9	3	1	—	—	—	2	9	33	39	72	93	165	—	—
Lingayats	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	5	1	6	6	6	12	—
Intermediate Hindus	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	3	7	6	13	12	25	—	—
B. & S. Castes	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	2	—	—	2	—
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	4	1	5	7	12	—
Christians	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	3	3	6	—
Not specified	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	3	—
Total	33	6	4	2	1	2	21	26	95	68	163	309	472	—	—
Percentage	34.74	6.31	4.21	2.10	1.05	2.10	22.11	27.37	58.28	41.72	34.53	65.47	—	—	—

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 61
Participation In Political Activities – Sex

Political Activities	Males	Females
Morcha	132	4
Procession	246	17
Strike	30	2
Demonstration	49	1
Hartal	90	9
Picketing	26	—
Satyagraha	32	3
Political movement	169	10
Trade Union activities	52	3
Other	14	—
Total	363	26

TABLE 62
Reasons For Participation – Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Suggested by friends	8	1
Requested by party	10	2
Forced by party	1	—
Encouraged by elders	14	3
Attracted by the personality of leader	49	5
Party programme	41	1
Out of self-conviction	86	6
To become leader	11	—
Personal benefit	10	—
To raise self-prestige	8	—
To get job in future	4	—
Social Service	56	5
Conscientious citizen	79	4
Friends participate	5	1
Other	—	—
Not specified	18	—
Total participants in one party	—	—

TABLE 63

Reasons For Non-participation - Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Lack of time	158	43
Elders not allowing	33	16
Friends not participating	34	8
No liking for party politics	202	73
Fear of being branded as party man	21	1
Fear of not getting Government service	19	—
Belief in non-party politics	35	6
Not paid by party for participation	1	—
Disbelief in democracy	11	2
Government servant	5	—
Other	2	1
Not specified	21	11
Total Non-participants	398	124

TABLE 64
Sympathy For Trade Unions of Party — Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	Sympathy for the T.U. of one party												Total males
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	10	11	13		
Arts	32	4	7	7	4	1	6	29	—	2	2	94	103
Science	31	9	1	2	4	1	—	25	—	2	73	79	152
Commerce	12	7	3	8	4	—	—	13	2	—	—	51	52
Law	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	11	13
Agriculture	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	8
Postgraduate	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	11	22	33
Total	82	20	11	19	12	2	6	75	2	2	4	235	271
Percentage	4.68	11.81	3.18	8.08	4.85	2.55	1.81	0.85	1.70	1.70	46.44	53.56	66.48
												157	98
													761

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 65

Sympathy For Trade Unions of Party — Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	Sympathy For Trade Unions of Party										Sympathy For Party			
	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	11	Total of more than one party	Total of the T.U.	Total sympa- thizers	Total Non- specified	Total females	
Arts	13	4	2	--	1	2	13	1	36	18	54	43	12	109
Science	8	--	--	--	--	1	--	9	7	16	11	4	31	
Commerce	1	--	--	1	--	--	--	2	3	5	--	--	5	
Law	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	
Agriculture	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	1	--	--	1	
Postgraduate	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	3	3	1	1	4	
Total	23	4	2	1	1	2	14	1	48	31	79	54	17	150
Percentage	47.84	8.32	4.16	2.08	2.08	4.16	29.12	2.08	60.75	39.25	52.67	36.00	11.33	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 46

Sympathy for Trade Unions of Party — Caste and Place of Origin (Rural)

Caste	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	10	11	13	Total students		
											Total sympathisers	Total Non-sympathisers	Not specified
Brahmins & others	4	4	1	2	7	—	—	—	1	19	30	49	12
Jains	10	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	21	4	7
Gujars etc.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	4	1
Marathas	23	5	4	3	—	—	33	—	1	69	77	146	34
Lingayats	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	1	—	7	12	19
Intermediate Hindus	2	1	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	6	14	20	5
B. & S. Castes	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	1	—	—	6	27	33
Neo-Buddhists	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Muslims	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	4	9	13
Christians	2	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	1	5
Not specified	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	48	11	6	6	9	5	41	2	1	131	181	312	75
Percentage	36.64	8.40	4.58	4.58	6.86	3.82	32.05	1.52	0.76	1.52	41.99	58.01	71.07
													17.09
													11.85

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 67
Sympathy for Trade Unions of Party — Caste and Place of Origin (Urban)

Caste	Sympathy for the T.U. of one party												Total students	
	1	2	3	4	5	8	9	10	11	12	13			
Brahmins & others	15	6	3	2	21	—	1	1	1	50	53	103	68	32
Jains	9	2	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	14	11	25	6	3
Gujars etc.	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	10
Marathas	23	3	3	9	1	25	—	1	—	65	39	104	46	15
Lingayats	1	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	4	1	5	2	5
Intermediate Hindus	1	2	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	6	12	18	3
B. & S. Castes	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	4	2	6	4
Christians	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	3	3	6
Not specified	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	1
Total	57	13	7	14	23	33	1	2	2	152	121	273	136	63
Percentage	37.50	8.55	4.61	9.21	15.14	21.73	0.66	1.32	1.32	55.71	44.29	57.85	28.82	13.65

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23,

TABLE 69
Membership of Student Association — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural				Urban				Total mem- bers	Non- mem- bers								
	1	2	3	4	Total Mem- bers	1	2	3	4									
Brahmins & others	1	—	—	3	4	63	4	71	2	1	—	1	4	197	2	203	—	—
Jains	2	—	—	2	4	28	—	32	1	—	—	1	33	—	—	34	—	—
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7	1	—	—	1	9	—	—	10	—	—
Marathas	6	1	—	18	25	175	1	201	7	2	—	3	12	152	1	165	—	—
Lingayats	—	2	—	4	6	23	—	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	1	12	—
Intermediate Hindus	1	—	—	1	2	28	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	25
B. & S. Castes	3	—	3	4	10	32	—	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	11	—	12
Christians	—	—	—	—	2	3	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1	6	—
Not specified	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	3	—
Total	13	3	3	34	53	381	5	439	11	3	—	5	19	447	6	472	—	—
Percentage	24.53	5.66	5.66	64.15	12.07	86.79	1.13	57.89	15.78	—	26.31	4.02	94.71	1.27	—	—	—	—

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 68.

TABLE 70

Reasons For Non-Membership of Student Association - Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
Lack of time	232	51
Elders not allowing	21	20
Friends not members	68	26
Party politics in student associations	316	36
No liking	140	45
No attempt by student associations to enrol members	153	17
Other	44	7
Not specified	31	7
Total Non-members	680	145

TABLE 71
Sympathy For Student Association — Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males			Females			Total Females											
	1	2	3	1	2	3												
Arts	113	34	2	149	24	173	97	8	278	29	10	39	5	44	65	109		
Science	78	12	—	90	26	116	134	3	253	9	4	13	2	15	16	31		
Commerce	60	12	1	73	13	86	70	—	156	1	—	1	—	1	4	5		
Law	5	3	—	8	3	11	8	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Agriculture	5	1	—	6	1	7	10	—	17	—	—	—	—	—	1	1		
Postgraduate	12	3	1	16	5	21	17	—	38	1	1	2	1	3	1	4		
Total	273	65	4	342	72	414	336	11	761	40	15	55	8	63	87	150		
Percentage	79.82	19.00	1.17	82.59	17.38	54.39	44.15	1.44							87.28	12.69	42.00	58.00

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 68.

TABLE 72
Sympathy for Student Association — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste				Rural			Total Non- sympatheti- cally students	Total students
	1	2	3	Sympathy for one association	Sympathy for more than one association	Total sympathi- cally students		
Brahmins and others	22	4	—	26	6	32	35	4
Jains	11	3	—	14	5	19	13	—
Gujars etc.	2	—	—	2	—	2	5	—
Marathas	90	11	—	101	15	116	84	1
Lingayats	12	3	—	15	4	19	10	201
Intermediate Hindus	9	1	—	10	3	13	17	—
B. & S. Castes	19	6	3	28	7	35	7	30
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42
Muslims	2	3	—	5	3	8	7	1
Christians	4	1	—	5	—	5	—	15
Not specified	1	1	—	2	1	3	3	5
Total	172	33	3	208	44	252	182	6
Percentage	82.69	15.86	1.44	82.50	17.45	57.40	41.45	1.13
							5	439

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 68.

TABLE 72 (Continued)
Sympathy For Student Association — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Urban				Total	Non-Sympathetic	Not Specified	Total students
	1	2	3	4				
Brahmins & others	53	17	—	70	9	79	122	2
Jains	11	5	—	16	4	20	14	—
Gujars etc.	7	—	—	7	—	7	3	—
Marathas	53	17	1	71	15	86	78	1
Lingayats	4	2	—	6	2	8	3	1
Intermediate Hindus	9	1	—	10	3	13	12	—
B. & S. Castes	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	3	5	—	8	—	8	4	—
Christians	1	—	—	1	—	1	4	1
Not specified	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1
Total	141	47	1	189	36	225	241	6
Percentage	74.60	24.86	0.52	83.99	15.99	47.67	51.06	1.27

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 68.

TABLE 73
Voting At the General Elections (1962) — Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males						Females									
	1	2	5	9	10	13	Ind.	Total	Total	1	2	Ind.	Total	Total		
							candi-	voters	males	1	2	candi-	voters	Non-	voters	males
Arts	13	—	1	16	1	2	—	33	245	—	—	1	—	1	108	109
Science	1	1	—	—	1	1	4	249	253	—	—	—	—	—	31	31
Commerce	7	2	1	1	—	1	—	12	144	156	1	—	—	1	4	5
Law	6	1	—	5	—	—	—	12	7	19	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	16	17	—	—	—	—	—	—
Postgraduate	10	—	—	7	1	—	2	19	19	18	—	—	1	1	1	1
Total	38	4	2	29	1	4	3	81	680	761	1	1	1	1	3	4
Percentage	46.93	2.47	35.80	4.94	1.23	3.70	10.64	89.36	3.70	33.33	33.33	33.33	33.33	33.33	2.00	98.00

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 74
Voting at the General Elections (1962) — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Voters						Total			Total students
	1	2	5	9	10	13	Ind. candidate	Total voters	Non-voters	
Brahmins & others	1	1	1	2	—	—	—	5	66	71
Jains	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	29	32
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	6	7
Marathas	16	1	—	11	1	1	—	30	171	201
Lingayats	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	27	29
Intermediate Hindus	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	3	27	30
B. & S. Castes	2	—	—	5	—	—	—	7	35	42
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1
Muslims	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	13	15
Christians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	5
Not specified	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	4	6
Total	25	2	1	23	1	3	1	56	383	439
Percentage	44.65	3.57	1.78	41.62	1.78	5.35	1.78	12.75	87.28	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 74 (Continued)
Voting At the General Elections (1962) : Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Urban						Total			Total Non- voters		Total stu- dents
	1	2	5	9	10	13	Ind. candi- date	Total voters	8	199	207	
Brahmins & others	3	1	1	2	—	—	—	1	8	199	207	34
Jains	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	32	34	10
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	10	165
Marathas	8	1	—	3	—	—	1	1	14	151	151	12
Lingayats	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	11	11	12
Intermediate Hindus	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	24	24	25
B. & S. Castes	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Muslims	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
Christians	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5	5	6
Not specified	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	3
Total	13	3	1	8	—	—	1	2	28	444	472	
Percentage	46.42	10.71	3.57	28.76	..	3.57	7.14	5.93	94.07			

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 7

Reasons for Voting : Sex (Males)

Reasons	Males
Fascinating personality of the candidate	19
Caste and / or religion of the candidate	5
Party programme of the candidate	30
Celebrated leaders in the party of the candidate	25
Relation with the candidate	7
Suggested by others	2
Forced by others	2
Election propaganda	1
Out of self-conviction	39
Other	1
Not specified	2
Total voters	81

TABLE 76

Canvassing At The Elections : Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males								Females								Total Females
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total males	1	2	3	5	6	7	8	
Arts	112	54	61	21	62	2	171	107	278	8	6	2	1	—	14	95	109
Science	70	40	30	8	35	—	108	145	253	1	3	—	—	1	5	26	31
Commerce	60	31	20	7	18	3	81	75	156	1	—	—	—	1	4	5	5
Law	9	2	6	2	5	—	10	9	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	8	1	4	2	3	—	10	7	17	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	1
Postgraduate	17	9	10	5	10	2	22	16	38	1	1	—	—	1	3	4	4
Total	276	137	131	45	133	7	402	359	761	11	11	2	1	1	22	128	150
Percentage	99.68	80.69	61.98	7.74	52.83	1.71	47.17	50.00	9.00	9.00	4.54	4.54	4.54	4.54	14.67	85.33	85.33

Note: Explanation of code numbers:

1. General Elections 3. Zilla Parishad Elections.

2. Municipal Elections 4. Taluka Panchayat Samiti

Elections. 5. Gram Panchayat Elections.

6. Not specified.

7. Total canvassers.

8. Total non-canvassers.

TABLE 77
Canvassing At the Elections — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural							Total students
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Brahmins & others	17	6	6	2	8	1	25	46
Jains	18	4	5	4	18	—	25	7
Gujars etc.	1	—	3	—	—	—	4	3
Marathas	89	18	69	27	67	2	135	201
Lingayats	10	2	10	1	10	—	15	14
Intermediate Hindus	8	3	7	3	9	—	14	16
B. & S. Castes	13	3	10	2	9	—	21	30
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	10	2	6	3	4	—	10	15
Christians	1	—	3	1	3	—	4	5
Not specified	3	1	—	—	2	—	4	6
Total	170	39	119	43	130	3	257	439
Percentage	66.15	15.18	46.3	16.73	50.58	1.16	58.54	41.48

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 76.

TABLE 71 (Continued)
Canvassing At the Elections — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Urban								Total students
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Brahmins & others	2	24	1	—	—	1	42	161	203
Jains	10	10	2	—	—	1	13	21	34
Gujars etc.	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	9	10
Marathas	60	62	7	2	2	1	85	80	165
Lingayats	5	3	—	—	1	1	7	5	12
Intermediate Hindus	6	3	1	—	—	1	8	17	25
B. & S. Castes	2	1	—	—	1	—	2	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	3	3	1	—	—	—	5	7	12
Christians	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	4	6
Not specified	1	2	1	—	—	—	2	1	3
Total	117	109	14	2	4	5	167	305	472
Percentage	70.06	65.27	8.38	1.19	2.39	2.99	35.38	64.62	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 76.

TABLE 78

Canvassing For Party and Independent Candidate — Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	More than one canvassers for party						Total canvassers for ind. candidate		Total canvassers		Total Non-canvassers		Total males
	1	2	3	5	9	10	13	19	22	171	107	278	
Arts	63	7	—	6	40	1	13	19	149	22	171	107	278
Science	29	6	—	4	34	1	8	13	95	13	108	145	253
Commerce	30	3	—	5	25	1	8	6	78	3	81	75	156
Law	4	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	1	10	—	10	19
Agriculture	3	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	1	9	1	10	17
Postgraduate	9	—	—	—	3	—	1	6	19	3	22	16	38
Total	138	16	—	15	112	3	30	46	360	42	402	359	761
Percentage	38.33	4.47	—	4.17	31.11	0.83	8.33	12.78	89.55	10.45	52.83	47.17	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 79

Canvassing For Party and Independent Candidate - Caste and Place of Origin (Rural)

Caste	More than one party													Total can-vassers			Total can-vassers			Total Non-can-vassers			Total students		
	1	2	5	9	10	13	Party	for Ind. candidate	for Ind. vassers	Ind. vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	Ind. vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers	can-vassers		
Brahmins and others	9	1	9	3	—	1	—	23	2	25	46	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Jains	12	3	—	2	—	3	3	23	2	25	7	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	2	2	4	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Marathas	47	6	—	40	1	10	18	122	13	135	66	201	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Lingayats	7	—	—	5	—	—	2	14	1	15	14	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Intermediate Hindus	8	1	—	2	—	1	1	13	1	14	16	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
B. & S. Castes	3	1	—	7	—	2	5	18	3	21	21	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Muslims	5	—	—	3	—	—	2	10	—	—	10	5	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Christians	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	3	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Not specified	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Total	93	12	10	66	1	18	32	232	25	257	182	439	9.73	58.45	41.45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Percentage	40.09	5.18	4.31	28.45	0.43	7.76	13.79	90.27	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 20

Canvassing For Party and Independent Candidate—Caste and Place of Origin (Urban)

Caste	Total										Total			Total		
	1	2	5	9	10	13	More than one party	Total can- vassers for party	Indi- can- vassers for party	Total can- vassers for Indi- can- vassers for party	Non- can- vassers for Indi- can- vassers for party	stu- dents				
Brahmins and others	8	2	7	11	2	4	4	38	4	42	161	203				
Jains	6	2	—	2	—	1	1	12	1	13	21	34				
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	9	10				
Marathas	27	2	—	29	—	6	8	72	13	85	80	165				
Lingayats	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	2	7	5	12				
Intermediate Hindus	2	—	—	4	—	1	—	7	1	8	17	25				
B. and S. Castes	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	2	—	2				2
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
Muslims	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	—	5	7	12				
Christians	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	4	6				
Not specified	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	3				
Total	55	6	7	49	2	12	15	146	21	167	305	472				
Percentage	37.67	4.11	4.79	33.55	1.36	8.72	10.27	87.43	12.57	35.38	64.62					

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 23.

TABLE 81
Reasons For Canvassing — Sex

Reasons	Males	Females
For fun	49	4
Paid	3	—
Promised service	6	—
Party programme	156	7
Personality of the candidate	94	4
Celebrated leaders in the party	125	3
Related to the candidate	42	4
Caste and/or religion of the candidate	34	4
Friends canvassed	26	2
Personal benefit	12	—
Out of self-conviction	129	5
To become leader	13	—
Social service	56	2
Other	26	—
Total canvassers	402	22

TABLE 82

Desire to Contest Elections — Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males			Females			Total females	
	1	2	3	Total males	1	2	3	
Arts	141	132	5	278	23	85	1	109
Science	118	133	2	253	12	18	1	31
Commerce	77	78	1	156	3	2	—	5
Law	11	8	—	19	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	6	11	—	17	—	1	—	1
Postgraduate	19	18	1	38	1	3	—	4
Total	372	380	9	761	39	109	2	150
Percentage	48.68	49.93	1.18	26.00	72.67	1.33		

Note : Explanation of code numbers

1 Desire to contest elections.

2 No desire to contest elections.

3 Not specified.

TABLE 83

Desire to Contest Elections — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban			Total students	
	1	2	3	Total students	1	2	3	
Ibrahimis & others	36	35	—	71	72	130	1	203
Jains	20	12	—	32	14	20	—	34
Gujars etc.	1	6	—	7	2	8	—	10
Marathas	109	89	3	201	64	96	5	165
Lingayats	14	14	1	29	8	4	—	12
Intermediate Hindus	15	14	1	30	11	14	—	25
B. and S. Castes	18	24	—	42	1	1	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
Muslims	9	6	—	15	6	6	—	12
Christians	5	—	—	5	2	4	—	6
Not specified	3	3	—	6	1	2	—	3
Total	230	204	5	439	181	285	6	472
Percentage	52.39	46.47	1.13	38.38	60.42	1.26		

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 82.

TABLE 84

Elections to the Local Bodies - Bases — Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total males
Arts	94	100	13	137	48	61	25	115	276	2	278
Science	59	101	26	126	66	61	32	105	248	5	253
Commerce	41	57	3	87	25	31	9	49	154	2	156
Law	-	5	11	1	10	3	2	1	5	19	19
Agriculture	7	6	-	4	2	3	1	9	17	-	17
Postgraduate	18	11	-	24	8	7	2	17	38	-	38
Total	224	286	43	388	152	165	70	300	752	9	761
Percentage	29.79	38.03	5.71	51.60	20.21	21.94	9.30	39.90	98.81	1.19	

Note : Explanation of code numbers:

- 1 Party programme.
- 2 Non-party principle.
- 3 Caste and/or religion.
- 4 Local issues.
- 5 Provincial issues.
- 6 National issues.
- 7 International issues.
- 8 Personal prestige.
- 9 Total reporters.

TABLE 85

Elections to The Local Bodies - Bases — Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total females
Arts	19	38	14	50	18	16	10	33	101	8	109
Science	5	11	-	16	6	6	2	12	31	-	31
Commerce	1	2	-	1	3	-	-	-	4	1	5
Law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Postgraduate	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	3	1	4
Total	26	54	14	69	27	12	45	140	10	150	
Percentage	18.57	38.57	10.00	49.28	19.28	15.71	8.75	32.14	93.33	6.66	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 84.

TABLE 86

Elections to the Local Bodies - Bases — Caste and Place of Origin (Rural)

Caste	1	2	3	4	.5	6	7	8	9	10	Total students
Brabmins and others	18	28	3	41	13	18	4	22	69	2	71
Jains	10	19	—	14	6	6	2	16	32	—	32
Gujars etc.	3	2	—	3	1	1	—	7	—	—	7
Marathas	68	70	11	95	45	44	22	104	200	1	201
Lingayats	7	15	1	14	3	5	2	10	28	1	29
Intermediate Hindus	11	10	1	15	7	5	2	11	28	2	30
B. and S. Castes	16	16	2	18	10	13	4	21	42	—	42
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Muslims	8	4	3	9	5	—	1	8	15	—	15
Christians	1	3	—	—	1	1	—	2	5	—	5
Not specified	2	1	1	—	—	2	—	4	5	—	5
Total	144	168	22	210	91	95	39	198	432	1	6
Percentage	33.33	39.89	5.09	48.61	21.06	21.99	9.02	45.83	98.4!	1.59	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 84.

TABLE 87

Elections to The Local Bodies - Bases - Caste and Place of Origin (Urban)

Caste	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total students
Brahmins and others	39	75	15	110	31	35	14	69	198	5	203
Jains	6	9	1	21	7	8	4	12	33	1	34
Gujars etc.	1	4	—	3	1	2	—	4	10	—	10
Marathas	46	59	7	86	38	37	18	43	161	4	165
Lingayats	2	7	—	6	2	2	2	2	12	—	12
Intermediate Hindus	8	8	2	13	6	3	2	9	24	1	25
B. & S. Castes	—	2	—	2	1	—	—	—	2	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	2	7	—	3	1	1	2	5	12	—	12
Christians	1	—	—	3	—	2	—	2	6	—	6
Not specified	1	1	—	—	1	2	1	1	3	—	3
Total	106	172	25	247	88	92	43	147	461	11	472
Percentage	22.99	37.31	5.42	53.57	19.08	19.95	9.33	31.88	97.69	2.31	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 84.

TABLE 88

General Elections - Bases - Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total males
Arts	134	87	18	32	37	96	75	94	278	—	278
Science	87	99	6	21	30	117	87	82	241	12	253
Commerce	66	45	5	16	11	85	48	46	156	—	156
Law	10	4	—	—	1	7	6	4	19	—	19
Agriculture	10	3	—	4	2	5	7	6	17	—	17
Postgraduate	24	10	—	3	4	25	17	16	38	—	38
Total	331	248	29	77	85	335	240	248	749	12	761
Percentage	44.18	33.10	3.87	10.26	11.33	45.72	32.04	33.10	98.42	1.58	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 84.

TABLE 89
General Elections — Bases — Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total females
Arts	27	39	5	9	10	48	32	31	101	8	109
Science	5	12	1	1	1	12	10	12	31	—	31
Commerce	1	2	—	—	—	3	5	—	5	—	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Postgraduate	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	4	4
Total	35	54	6	10	11	64	47	45	142	8	150
Percentage	24.64	38.02	4.22	7.04	7.74	45.06	33.09	31.5	94.67	5.33	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 84.

TABLE 90
General Elections — Bases — Caste and Place of Origin (Rural)

Caste	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total students
Brahmins and others	24	29	1	7	10	32	20	20	69	2	71
Jains	13	15	2	2	3	13	7	12	32	—	32
Gujars etc.	4	3	—	—	—	2	2	—	7	—	7
Marathas	109	48	11	27	26	81	63	84	200	1	201
Lingayats	13	12	—	3	—	10	11	5	27	2	29
Intermediate Hindus	15	10	2	3	5	15	9	10	29	1	30
B. & S. Castes	17	18	2	4	4	16	12	17	42	—	42
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1
Muslims	9	5	3	3	5	9	5	9	15	—	15
Christians	2	2	—	1	—	—	1	2	5	—	5
Net specified	2	2	1	—	—	4	—	2	6	—	6
Total	203	144	22	50	53	182	130	162	433	6	439
Percentage	48.03	33.25	5.08	11.55	12.24	24.02	30.02	37.64	98.64	1.36	

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 84.

TABLE 91
General Elections - Bases --- Caste and Place of Origin (Urban)

Caste	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total students
Brahmins and others	54	77	7	15	18	92	65	64	196	7	203
Jains	13	8	1	3	2	15	16	11	32	2	34
Gujars etc.	2	3	—	—	—	6	3	1	10	—	10
Marathas	69	50	3	17	20	71	56	42	161	4	165
Lingayats	4	7	—	—	—	3	6	2	12	—	12
Intermediate Hindus	11	5	2	1	2	18	5	5	25	—	25
B. & S. Castes	—	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	2	5	—	—	—	5	3	4	11	1	12
Christians	2	1	—	—	—	4	1	1	6	—	6
Not specified	1	—	—	1	1	2	1	1	3	—	3
Total	158	158	13	37	43	217	157	131	458	14	472
Percentage	34.49	34.49	2.84	8.08	9.38	47.37	34.27	28.60	97.05	2.05	

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 84.

TABLE 92

The Seamy Side of Elections — Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males							Females							Total females	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total males	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Arts	124	167	170	153	7	276	2	278	43	35	48	52	1	101	8	109
Science	100	125	134	135	23	243	10	253	11	10	9	17	1	31	—	31
Commerce	50	69	94	97	11	154	2	156	2	2	4	2	—	5	—	5
Law	10	10	9	11	5	19	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	3	3	6	4	4	17	—	17	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
Postgraduate	19	23	25	19	5	38	—	38	3	1	2	1	—	4	—	4
Total	306	396	438	419	55	747	14	761	60	49	63	72	2	142	8	150
Percentage	40.97	53.02	58.65	56.10	7.36	98.15	1.85	42.25	34.51	44.36	50.70	1.41	94.67	5.33		

Note : Explanation of code numbers :

- 1 Casteism and communalism.
- 2 Goondalism & hooliganism.
- 3 Groupism.
- 4 Extravagance of money.
- 5 All elements noticed.
- 6 Total reporters.
- 7 Total Non-reporters.

TABLE 91
The Seamy Side of Elections: Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural							Urban							Total students
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total stu- dents	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Brahmins & others	36	41	45	40	2	71	—	71	85	87	102	106	6	197	6 203
Jains	13	14	18	17	3	31	1	32	9	15	18	21	3	33	1 34
Gujars etc.	2	2	1	5	—	7	—	7	1	1	5	6	—	9	1 10
Marathas	87	106	108	103	20	199	2	201	59	91	102	90	12	160	5 165
Lingayats	12	15	15	17	1	28	1	29	5	4	8	8	—	12	— 12
Intermediate Hindus	10	11	14	15	3	29	1	30	9	12	16	15	1	24	1 25
B. & S. Castes	21	24	20	19	12	42	42	2	2	2	1	—	2	—	— 2
Neo-Buddhists	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	— —
Muslims	6	9	8	11	3	15	—	15	4	5	10	6	—	11	1 12
Christians	3	2	2	4	—	5	—	5	1	1	2	2	1	6	— 6
Not specified	1	3	3	3	—	5	1	6	—	2	2	2	1	1	1 3
Total	191	227	234	243	34	433	6	439	175	218	267	257	23	456	16 472
Percentage	44.10	52.41	54.03	56.10	7.85	98.63	2.37	38.37	47.80	58.55	56.36	5.04	96.62	3.38	

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 92.

TABLE 94
Faith In Elections — Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females			
	Liking for elections	No liking for elections	Not specified	Total males	Liking for elections	No liking for elections	Not specified	Total females
Arts	208	66	4	278	75	31	3	109
Science	184	62	7	253	28	3	—	31
Commerce	127	28	1	156	5	—	—	5
LAW	16	3	—	19	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	14	3	—	17	—	—	1	1
Postgraduate	30	8	—	38	3	1	—	4
Total	579	170	12	761	111	35	4	150
Percentage	76.03	22.34	1.53	—	74.00	23.33	2.67	—

TABLE 95
Faith In Elections — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban			Total students
	Liking for elections	No liking for elections	Not specified	Total students	Liking for elections	No Liking for elections	
Brahmins & other	51	18	2	71	148	50	5
Jains	29	3	—	32	26	7	1
Gujars etc	4	3	—	7	9	—	1
Marathas	155	45	—	201	109	52	4
Lingayats	22	7	—	29	10	2	—
Intermediate Hindus	26	3	—	30	22	3	—
B. and S. Castes	34	7	—	42	1	1	—
Neo-Buddhists	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
Muslims	14	1	—	15	11	1	—
Christians	3	2	—	5	6	—	—
Not specified	6	—	—	6	3	—	—
Total	345	89	5	439	345	116	11
Percentage	78.59	20.27	1.14	73.10	24.58	2.33	472

TABLE 96

Political Aspirations — Faculty and Sex (Males)

Faculty	Parlia- ment	Assem- bly	Zilla Pari- shad	Talu- ka Pan- chayat Samiti	Member			Minister		
					Gram Pan- chayat	Muni- cipal- ity	Total	Union	State	Total
Arts	19	14	7	—	4	7	51	58	37	95
Science	17	8	4	1	1	2	33	56	17	73
Commerce	8	14	10	—	2	5	39	30	20	50
Law	1	2	2	—	—	—	5	4	3	7
Agriculture	—	3	—	—	—	—	3	3	3	6
Postgraduate	6	3	3	—	—	—	12	3	5	8
Total	51	44	26	1	7	14	143	145	81	239
Percentage	35.66	30.77	18.18	0.70	4.89	9.79	32.72	64.43	35.56	54.68

Faculty	Parlia- ment	Assem- bly	Zilla Pari- shad	Talu- ka Pan- chayat Samiti	President			Sarpanch				
					Muni- cipal- ity	Total	Gram Pan- chayat	Other	Total	Non- aspir- ants	Not speci- fied	Total males
Arts	13	3	10	26	6	2	130	96	2	273		
Science	5	—	—	5	6	3	120	133	—	253		
Commerce	3	—	—	3	4	—	96	60	—	156		
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	7	—	19		
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	9	8	—	17		
Postgraduate	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	17	1	38		
Total	21	3	10	34	16	5	437	321	3	761		
Percentage	61.76	8.82	29.41	7.78	3.66	1.14	57.42	42.18	0.39			

TABLE 97
Political Aspirations : Faculty and Sex (Females)

Faculty	Parlia- ment	Assem- bly	Zilla Par- shad	Talu- ka Pancha- yat Samiti	Member			Minister		
					Gram Pancha- yat	Muni- cipal- ity	Total	Union	State	Total
Arts	2	2	4	1	2	3	14	16	7	23
Science	1	1	2	—	1	5	—	3	1	4
Commerce	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Postgraduate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	3	3	6	1	2	5	20	20	9	29
Percentage	15.00	15.00	30.00	5.00	10.00	25.00	37.74	68.96	31.03	54.72
Sarpanch										
Faculty	Zilla Par- shad	Talu- ka Pancha- yat Samiti	Muni- cipal- ity	Total	Gram Panchayat		Total aspir- ants	Total Non- aspir- ants	Not speci- fied	Total fe- males
					Gram Panchayat	Total				
Arts	2	—	1	3	—	—	40	69	—	109
Science	1	—	—	1	—	—	10	21	—	31
Commerce	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	1	5
Law	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Postgraduate	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	4
Total	3	—	1	4	—	—	53	96	1	150
Percentage	75.00	—	25.00	7.54	—	—	35.33	64.00	0.67	—

TABLE 98
Political Aspirations : Caste and Place of Origin (Rural)

Caste	Parlia- ment	Assem- bly	Zilla Par- shad	Member				Minister			
				Taluka	Pan- cha- yat	Gram- Pancha- yat	Muni- cipal- ity	Total	Union	State	Total
Brahmins & other	4	4	3	—	1	—	—	12	11	10	21
Jains	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	4	9	3	12
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2
Marathas	10	15	12	—	1	—	—	39	32	43	75
Lingayats	3	2	—	—	1	—	—	6	7	3	10
Intermediate Hindus	—	2	3	—	—	1	—	7	4	5	9
B. & S. Castes	6	4	—	—	3	—	—	13	10	3	13
Neo-Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	6
Christians	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1
Not specified	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	2
Total	27	29	19	1	6	2	—	84	83	68	151
Percentage	32.13	34.51	22.61	1.19	7.14	2.38	30.43	54.97	45.03	54.71	

TABLE 99 (Contd.)
Political Aspirations — Caste and Place of Origin (Urban)

Caste	President				Sarpanch				Total aspir- ants	Total Non aspir- ants	Not specified	Total students	
	Zilla Par- shad	Taluka Pancha- yat	Muni- cipality	Total	Gram Pancha- yat	Other	Total aspir- ants						
Brahmins & other	1	—	—	1	1	3	81	122	—	—	—	203	—
Jains	2	—	—	1	3	—	19	14	1	1	1	34	10
Gujars etc.	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	7	—	—	—	165	12
Marathas	2	—	—	4	6	—	83	81	1	1	—	25	2
Lingayats	—	—	—	1	1	—	7	5	—	—	—	—	—
Intermediate Hindus	2	—	—	—	2	—	14	11	—	—	—	—	12
B. & S. Castes	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	6
Neo Buddhists	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Muslims	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	8	—	—	—	12
Christians	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	—	—	—	6
Not specified	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	3
Total	7	—	7	14	1	3	214	256	2	472	—	—	—
Percentage	50.00	—	50.00	6.54	0.47	1.40	45.34	54.25	0.42	—	—	—	—

TABLE 100

Means to Political Career — Sex

Means	Males	Females
Social work	341	32
Party work	108	6
Welfare of caste	10	4
Currying favour of party leaders	45	2
Other	10	—
Not specified	49	16
Total aspirants	437	53

TABLE 101
Political Loyalty — Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females			
	Intention to leave the party	No intention to leave the party	Not specified	Total males	Intention to leave the party	No intention to leave the party	Not specified	Total females
Arts	46	206	26	278	20	77	12	109
Science	49	180	24	253	5	23	3	31
Commerce	33	101	22	156	—	5	—	5
Law	2	16	1	19	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	1	12	4	17	1	—	—	1
Postgraduate	2	36	—	38	—	3	1	4
Total	133	551	77	761	26	108	16	150
Percentage	17.47	72.40	10.11	17.33	72.00	10.66		

TABLE 102
Political Loyalty — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban			Total students
	Intention to leave the party	No intention to leave the party	Total students	Intention to leave the party	No intention to leave the party	Not specified	
Brahmins & Other	6	55	71	34	144	25	203
Jains	9	20	32	6	25	3	34
Gujars etc.	1	5	7	1	8	1	10
Marathas	40	147	201	34	117	14	165
Lingayats	4	20	29	1	7	4	12
Intermediate Hindus	4	21	30	6	15	4	25
B. & S. Castes	6	34	42	—	2	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Muslims	—	15	—	3	8	1	12
Christians	1	4	—	5	2	4	6
Not specified	1	5	—	6	—	2	1
Total	72	327	40	439	87	332	53
Percentage	16.40	74.49	9.11	18.43	70.35	11.22	472

TABLE 103
Emotional Integration in India : Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females			
	No	Yes	Not specified	Total males	No	Yes	Not specified	Total Females
Arts	247	25	6	278	95	12	2	109
Science	221	37	5	253	27	4	—	31
Commerce	129	23	4	156	5	—	—	5
Law	17	2	—	19	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	11	5	1	17	1	—	—	1
Post graduate	35	3	—	38	3	1	—	4
Total	650	95	16	761	131	17	2	150
Percentage	85.41	12.48	2.10		87.33	11.33	1.33	

TABLE 104
Emotional Integration in India : Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban			Total students
	Yes	No specified	Total students	Yes	No specified		
Brahmins & other	9	62	71	20	182	1	203
Jains	8	23	31	32	3	29	34
Gujars etc.	1	5	1	7	1	8	10
Marathas	21	178	201	25	134	6	165
Lingayats	2	26	1	29	2	10	12
Intermediate Hindus	5	25	—	30	4	21	25
B. & S. Castes	3	38	1	42	—	2	2
Neo-Buddhists	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
Muslims	3	11	1	15	4	8	12
Christians	—	5	—	5	1	5	6
Not specified	—	5	1	6	—	3	3
Total	52	379	8	439	60	402	10
Percentage	11.85	86.33	1.82	12.71	85.18	2.11	472

TABLE 165
India's Foreign Policy : Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females			
	Aligned	Non-aligned	Total reporters specified	Total males	Aligned	Non-aligned	Total reporters	Total females
Arts	65	207	272	6	213	28	73	101
Science	74	171	245	8	253	6	25	31
Commerce	45	111	156	—	156	1	4	5
Law	4	15	19	—	19	—	—	—
Agriculture	5	10	15	2	17	1	—	1
Post-graduate	7	31	38	—	38	—	4	4
Total	200	545	745	16	761	36	106	142
Percentage	26.85	73.15	97.89	2.16	52.16	74.84	94.67	51.13

TABLE 106
India's Foreign Policy : Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban						
	Aligned	Non-aligned	Total report-ers	Not specified	Total students	Aligned	Non-aligned	Total report-ers	Not specified	Total students
Brahmins and other	22	48	70	1	71	68	128	196	7	203
Jains	3	29	32	1	32	8	24	32	2	34
Gujars etc.	2	5	7	—	7	4	6	10	—	10
Marathas	65	135	200	1	201	36	121	157	8	165
Lingayats	4	25	29	—	29	—	11	11	1	12
Intermediate Hindus	8	21	29	1	30	7	18	25	—	25
B. & S. Castes	9	33	42	—	42	—	2	2	—	—
Neo-Buddhists	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	1	12	13	2	15	6	6	12	—	12
Christians	2	3	5	—	5	2	3	5	1	6
Not specified	1	5	6	—	6	1	2	3	—	3
Total	118	316	434	5	439	132	321	453	19	472
Percentage	27.19	72.81	98.86	1.14	29.14	70.86	95.98	4.02		

TABLE 107

Faith in Non-Alignment — Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males						Females						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total males	1	2	3	4	5	Total females
Arts	63	17	177	10	267	11	278	24	2	57	3	86	23
Science	61	12	156	11	240	13	253	12	—	19	—	31	31
Commerce	40	4	99	9	152	4	156	—	1	2	1	4	5
Law	4	1	12	2	19	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	4	—	9	1	14	3	17	1	—	—	—	1	1
Postgraduate	3	2	31	—	36	2	38	—	—	4	—	4	4
Total	175	36	484	33	728	33	761	37	3	82	4	126	24
Percentage	24.07	4.95	66.48	4.53	95.65	4.35	29.36	2.38	65.08	3.17	84.00	16.00	150

Note: Explanation of code numbers:

- 1 Western countries.
- 2 Communist countries.

- 3 Non-aligned countries.
- 4 Ambiguous answer.

- 5 Total reporters.
- 6 Not specified.

TABLE 108
Faith in Non-Alignment — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural						Urban							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total Students	1	2	3	4	5	Total Students	
Brahmins & other	15	4	47	2	68	3	71	49	6	126	4	185	18	203
Jains	12	—	17	2	31	1	32	9	1	20	1	31	3	34
Gujars etc.	1	—	6	—	7	—	7	2	1	6	1	10	—	10
Marathas	49	11	122	10	192	9	201	41	8	94	7	150	15	165
Lingayats	1	—	28	—	29	—	29	—	—	10	1	11	1	12
Intermediate Hindus	4	—	22	1	27	3	30	9	—	13	2	24	1	25
B. & S. Castes	11	5	23	3	42	—	42	—	—	1	1	2	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	1	—	10	2	13	2	15	1	2	9	—	12	—	12
Christians	1	1	3	—	5	—	5	3	—	2	—	5	1	6
Not specified	1	—	5	—	6	—	6	1	—	2	—	3	—	3
Total	97	21	283	20	421	18	439	115	18	283	17	433	39	472
Percentage	23.04	4.99	67.21	4.75	95.90	4.10	—	26.55	4.16	65.34	3.92	91.75	8.25	—

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 107.

TABLE 109
Faith in Political System — Faculty and Sex

Caste	Males						Females						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total Males	1	2	3	4	5	Total Females
Arts	225	20	16	7	268	10	278	92	10	2	1	105	4
Science	197	23	13	15	248	5	253	31	—	—	—	31	—
Commerce	131	11	5	6	153	3	156	4	1	—	—	5	—
Law	17	—	1	1	19	—	19	—	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	13	1	1	1	16	1	17	—	1	—	1	—	1
Postgraduate	25	4	2	6	37	1	38	3	—	—	1	4	4
Total	608	59	38	36	741	20	761	130	12	2	2	146	4
Percentage	82.08	7.96	5.13	4.86	97.37	2.63	89.04	8.21	1.36	1.36	97.34	2.66	

Note :— Explanation of code numbers:

1 Democracy.

2 Dictatorship.

3 Communism.

4 Ambiguous answer.

5 Total reporters.

6 Not specific.

TABLE 110
Faith in Non-Alignment — Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural						Urban						Total Students	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total Students	1	2	3	4	5		
Brahmins and other	58	7	2	3	70	1	71	156	27	7	10	200	3	203
Jains	29	2	—	1	32	—	32	33	1	—	—	34	—	34
Gujars etc.	4	1	1	—	6	1	7	9	—	1	—	10	—	10
Marathas	171	9	7	8	195	6	201	122	17	14	6	159	6	165
Lingayats	23	—	1	2	26	3	29	11	—	1	—	12	—	12
Intermediate Hindus	25	2	—	1	28	2	30	23	1	—	1	25	—	25
H. & S. Castes	34	—	4	1	41	1	42	2	—	—	—	2	—	2
Neo-Buddhists	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Muslims	12	1	—	2	15	—	15	9	2	1	—	12	—	12
Christians	4	—	1	—	5	—	5	6	—	—	—	6	—	6
Not specified	5	—	—	1	6	—	6	1	1	—	—	2	1	3
Total	366	22	16	21	425	14	439	372	49	24	17	492	10	472
Percentage	86.12	5.18	3.76	4.94	96.82	3.18	80.54	10.60	5.20	3.68	97.90	2.10		

Note:- Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 109.

TABLE III
Political Differences Among Western States : Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females			
	Yes	No	Total reporters	Not specified	Total males	Yes	No	Total reporters
Arts	197	39	236	42	278	64	4	68
Science	166	37	203	50	253	16	3	19
Commerce	110	19	129	27	156	2	2	4
Law	15	3	18	1	19	—	—	—
Agriculture	9	1	10	7	17	—	1	—
Postgraduate	35	2	37	1	38	4	—	4
Total	532	101	633	128	761	86	10	96
Percentage	84.06	15.94	83.18	16.82	89.61	10.39	64.00	36.00

TABLE II2

Political Differences Among Western States : Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural				Urban				Total students
	Yes	No	Total reporters	Not specified	Total students	Yes	No reporters	Not specified	
1	44	7	51	20	71	130	23	153	50
2	26	5	31	1	32	26	2	28	6
3	4	1	5	2	7	6	2	8	34
4	140	22	162	39	201	104	22	126	10
5	21	4	25	4	29	11	—	11	165
6	20	4	24	6	30	17	5	22	12
7	31	7	38	4	42	2	—	2	25
8	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	2
9	12	2	14	1	15	8	3	11	1
10	4	1	5	—	5	4	—	4	12
11	4	1	5	1	6	3	—	3	6
Total	367	54	361	78	439	311	57	368	103
Percentage	85.04	14.96	82.24	17.76	84.50	15.50	77.98	22.02	472

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE II.3
Political Differences Among Communist States : Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males					Females				
	Yes	No	Total reporters	Not specified	Total males	Yes	No	Total reporters	Not specified	Total females
Arts	158	78	236	42	278	37	26	63	46	109
Science	151	56	207	46	253	14	6	20	11	31
Commerce	104	18	122	34	156	3	1	4	1	5
Law	14	5	19	—	19	—	—	—	—	—
Agriculture	6	4	10	7	17	1	—	1	—	1
Postgraduate	33	3	36	2	38	2	2	4	—	4
Total	466	164	630	131	761	57	35	92	58	150
Percentage	73.75	26.25	82.78	17.22	61.95	38.05	61.34	38.66		

TABLE II4
Political Differences Among Communist States—Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural				Urban				Total students
	Yes	No	Total report- ers	Not speci- fied	Total students	Yes	No	Total report- ers	
1	45	8	53	18	71	107	39	146	57
2	20	10	30	2	32	22	4	26	8
3	3	2	5	2	7	5	2	7	3
4	125	42	167	34	201	86	42	128	37
5	18	8	26	3	29	8	3	11	1
6	19	5	24	6	30	15	5	20	5
7	24	12	36	6	42	—	2	2	2
8	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
9	12	1	13	2	15	6	5	11	1
10	2	3	5	—	5	1	2	3	3
11	2	3	5	1	6	2	1	3	3
Total	271	94	365	74	439	252	105	357	115
Percentage	74.25	25.75	83.15	16.85	70.58	29.42	75.65	24.35	472

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 115
Political Differences Among Non-aligned States : Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females			
	Yes	No	Total reporters specified	Total males	Yes	No	Total reporters specified	Total females
Arts	128	81	209	69	278	37	20	57
Science	111	62	173	80	253	12	4	16
Commerce	86	32	118	38	156	—	1	15
Law	13	5	18	1	19	—	—	4
Agriculture	5	—	5	12	17	—	—	5
Postgraduate	27	6	33	5	38	2	2	4
Total	370	186	556	205	761	51	27	72
Percentage	66.56	33.44	73.06	26.94	65.38	34.62	52.00	48.00

TABLE 116

Political Differences Among Non-aligned States : Caste and Place of Origin

Caste	Rural			Urban			Total report- ers	Total stu- dents	Total stu- dents	Total rep- ort- ers	Total stu- dents
	Yes	No	Not speci- fied	Yes	No	Not speci- fied					
1	31	13	44	27	71	75	57	132	71	203	
2	17	11	28	4	32	18	5	23	11	34	
3	2	1	3	4	7	6	1	7	3	10	
4	97	38	135	66	201	76	44	120	45	165	
5	16	5	21	8	29	6	4	10	2	12	
6	17	7	24	6	30	13	5	18	7	25	
7	26	7	33	9	42	2	—	2	—	2	
8	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	
9	5	7	12	3	15	5	4	9	3	12	
10	2	3	5	—	5	3	—	3	3	6	
11	3	1	4	2	6	1	—	1	1	2	
Total	216	93	309	130	439	205	120	325	147	472	
Percentage	69.90	30.10	70.39	29.61	63.08	36.92	68.87	31.13			

Note: Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

TABLE 117
U.N.-A Guarantee of World Peace and Security : Faculty and Sex

Faculty	Males				Females				Total reporters specified females*
	Yes	No	Total reporters	Not specified	Total males	Yes	No	Total reporters	
Arts	103	156	259	19	278	34	54	88	21
Science	90	140	230	23	253	10	18	28	3
Commerce	59	85	144	12	156	1	3	4	1
Law	6	13	19	—	19	—	—	—	5
Agriculture	4	9	13	4	17	—	—	—	—
Postgraduate	10	28	38	—	38	1	3	4	1
Total	272	431	703	58	761	46	78	124	26
Percentage	38.69	61.31	92.38	7.62	37.09	62.90	82.66	17.33	150

TABLE 115
U. N. - A Guarantee of World Peace and Security : Caste and Place of Origin.

Caste	Rural				Urban				Total reporters specified	Total students	Total reporters	Not specified	Total students
	Yes	No	Total reporters	Not specified	Total students	Yes	No						
1	17	44	61	10	71	66	120	186	17	203	2	2	34
2	10	19	29	3	32	10	22	32	2	34	2	2	10
3	1	4	5	2	7	2	6	8	2	10	19	19	165
4	66	118	184	17	201	53	93	146	19	165	1	1	12
5	8	18	26	3	29	3	8	11	—	—	—	—	25
6	9	17	26	4	30	6	19	25	—	—	—	—	2
7	13	26	39	3	42	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
8	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9	4	11	15	—	15	3	9	12	—	—	—	—	12
10	1	4	5	—	5	2	4	6	—	—	—	—	6
11	3	2	5	1	6	1	2	3	—	—	—	—	3
Total	133	263	396	43	439	147	284	431	41	472	91.31	8.69	
Percentage	33.59	66.41	50.21	9.79	34.10	65.90	91.31	8.69					

Note : Explanation of code numbers as given below Table 3.

QUESTIONNAIRE

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG COLLEGE STUDENTS IN KOLHAPUR

N.B. (i) Information given by you shall not be used against you.
(ii) You shall not write your name.
(iii) You should tick-mark the answer you like.

I

1. Name of your college.
2. Class in which studying this year.
3. Age (in complete years).
4. Sex: Male/Female.
5. Marital status: married/unmarried/widow/widower/divorcee.
6. Place of origin: rural/urban.
7. Place of residence in Kolhapur: College hostel/other hostel/private accommodation/with parents/with relatives/with guardians/with patrons/coming daily from village/other.
8. Financial position: poor/fair/good.
9. Religion.
10. Caste.
11. Occupational background of guardians: farming/trade and business/Government service/private service/professions (independent/socio-political worker/pensioner/well-to-do landlords) /other.
12. Educational attainments of guardians: can sign only/can read and write / vernacular final/non-matric/matriculate/non-graduate/graduate/highly educated.

II

1. Do you read newspapers? Yes/No.
(A) If yes, what news interests you more—films/dacoities and kidnappings/love affairs/Advertisements and public notices/crosswords/cartoons/accidents/sports/religious/scientific/educational/economic/political/editorial/other.
(B) If no, why?
no liking/financial difficulties/no facilities for reading/short of time/friends not reading/elders not allowing/prejudical news in news papers/other.

2. Do you read periodicals ? Yes/No

(A) if yes, what information interests you more — film/love stories/advertisements/cartoons/crosswords/detective stories/religious/scientific/economic/social/political/educational /other.

(B) if no, why ?

no liking/financial difficulties/facilities not made available for reading/short of time/friends not reading/ elders not allowing/other.

3. Do you read party newspapers ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party — Congress party/P. S. P./Socialist party/Communist party/ Jan Sangh/ Hindu Mahasabha/Republican party of India/ Peasants and Workers party/Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/Swatantra party/Lal Nishan Gat/Muslim League/other.

(ii) reasons for reading — getting free of charge/liking/forced by party/compelled by elders/forced by friends/persuaded by party/persuaded by elders/persuaded by friends/facilities made available for reading/other newspapers not available/other.

(B) if no, why ?

elders not permitting/no liking/short of time/fear of being branded as partyman/prejudicial views of party newspapers/not getting free of charge/no facilities made available for reading/friends not reading/economic difficulties/other.

4. Do you read party literature ? Yes/No

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party —

Congress party/P.S.P./Socialist party/Communist party/Jan Sangh/ Hindu Mahasabha/Republican party of India/Peasants and Workers party/Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/Swatantra party/Lal Nishan Gat/Muslim League/other.

(ii) reasons for reading —

getting free of charge/liking/compelled by party/forced by elders/forced by friends/persuaded by party/persuaded by elders/persuaded by friends/facilities made available for reading/other literature not available/other.

(B) if no, why ?

elders not allowing/no liking/short of time/fear of being branded as party man/fear of not getting Government service in future/not getting free of charge/facilities not made available for reading/economic difficulties/friends not reading/other.

5. Do you read political literature ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

democracy/dictatorship/capitalism/socialism/communism/Gandhism/Sarvodaya philosophy/other.

(B) if no, why ?

not permitted by elders/no liking for political literature/short of time/not getting free of charge/facilities not made available for reading/financial difficulties/friends not reading/other.

III

1. Do you discuss the following things among your friends ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

films/love-stories/love-affairs/sports/dacoities/kidnappings/religion/caste/education/political subjects : local problems/provincial issues/national matters/international affairs/democracy/communism/socialism/capitalism/dictatorship/Gandhism/Sarvodaya philosophy/party programme/political leaders/other.

2. Do you attend political meetings ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

do you comment on the speech of the speaker later on ? Yes/No.

(i) if yes,

oratory of speaker/his personality/his character/his view/programme of his party/other.

3. Do you attend study circles organised by party ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party—Congress party/P.S.P./Socialist party/Communist party/Jan Sangh/Hindu Mahasabha/Republican party of India/Peasants and Workers party/Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/Swatantra party/Lal Nishan Gat/Muslim League/other.

(ii) state the subjects discussed—party policy/policies of other parties/leaders/local and provincial problems/national matters/international matters/international issues/democracy/dictatorship/capitalism/socialism/communism/Gandhism/Sarvodaya philosophy/other.

(B) if no, why ?

elders not allowing/no liking/waste of time/fear of being branded as party man/fear of not getting Government job in future/friends not

attending/parties do not insist/away from home/party indoctrinates/other.

4. Do you attend caste-meetings? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state reasons—amelioration of caste/to get the caste candidate elected/personal benefit/to get educational concessions and facilities/to gain political importance/forced by the caste-members/compelled by friends/persuaded by elders/out of self-conviction/other.

IV

1. Are you a member of a party? Yes/No

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party—Congress party/P.S.P./Socialist party/Communist party/Jan Sangh/Hindu Mahasabha/Republican party of India/Peasants and Workers party/Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/Swatantra party/Lal Nishan Gat/Muslim League/other.

(ii) state whether an active or a passive member.

(iii) reasons for membership—personal benefit/suggested by elders/persuaded by friends/forced by party/attracted by party programme/to get service in future/influenced by the personality of the leaders in party/social work/other.

(B) if no.,

(i) state the reason for non-membership—lack of time/elders not permitting/friends not members/dislike for party regimentation/minor/fear of being branded as party man/fear of not getting Government service/no attempts on the part of parties to make members/belief in non-party politics/disbelief in democracy/other.

(ii) have you sympathy for any party? Yes/No.

(a) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party—Congress party/P.S.P./Socialist party/Communist party/Jan Sangh/Hindu Mahasabha/Republican party of India/Peasants & Workers party/Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/Swatantra party/Lal Nishan Gat/Muslim League/other.

2. Do you participate in the activities of any party? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party—Congress party/P.S.P./Socialist party/Communist party/Jan Sangh/Hindu Mahasabha/Republican

party of India/Peasants and Workers party/Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/Swatantra party/Lal Nishan Gat/Muslim League /other.

(ii) Have you so far participated in the following activities ? Yes/No.

(a) if yes,

(i) indicate the activity—marcha/procession/demonstration/strike/hartal/picketing/satyagraha/political movement/trade union activities/other.

(iii) state reasons for participation—suggested by friends/requested by party/forced by party/encouraged by elders/attracted by the personality of leader/party programme/out of self-conviction/to become leader/personal benefit/to raise self-prestige/to get job in future/social service/conscientious citizen/friends participate/other.

(B) if no,

(i) state reasons for non-participation—lack of time/elders not allowing/friends not participating/dislike for party politics/fear of being branded as party man/fear of not getting Government service/belief in non-party politics/not paid by party for participation/disbelief in democracy/government servant/other.

3. Are you a member of a trade union ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the trade union.

(ii) have you sympathy for a trade union? Yes/No.

(a) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party to which the trade union is affiliated—Congress party/P.S.P./Socialist party/Communist party/Jan Sangh/Hindu Mahasabha/Republican party of India/Peasants & Workers Party/Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/Swatantra party/Lal Nishan Gat/Muslim League/other.

4. Are you a member of a student association ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the union—Kolhapur Zilla Vidyarthi Sangh/Kolhapur Zilla Yuval Congress/Kolhapur Dalit Vidyarthi Utkarsha Mandal/Other.

(B) if no,

(i) state reasons for non-membership—lack of time/elders not allowing/friends not members/party politics in student associations/no liking/no attempts by student associations to enrol members/other.

(ii) have you sympathy for a student association ? Yes/No.

(a) if yes,

(i) state the name of the association—Kolhapur Zilla Vidyarthi Sangh/Kolhapur Zilla Yuva Congress/Kolhapur Dalit Vidyarthi Utkarsha Mandal/Other.

V

4. Were you a voter at the 1962 General Elections ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of the party for which you voted—Congress party/the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti/P.S.P./Jan Sangh/Socialist party/Republican party of India (Kamble faction) /Swatantra party/Independent.

(ii) reasons for voting—fascinating personality of the candidate/caste and/or religion of the candidate/party programme of the candidate/celebrated leaders in the party of the candidate/relation with the candidate/suggested by others/forced by others/election propaganda/out of self-conviction/other.

2. Did you canvass at the elections ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

(i) state the name of election—General Elections/Municipal Elections/Zilla Parishad Elections/Taluka Panchayat Samiti Elections/Gram Panchayat Elections/other.

(ii) state the name of the party of the candidate.

(iii) did you canvass for the independent candidate ? Yes/No.

(iv) state reasons for canvassing—for fun/paid/promised service/party programme/personality of the candidate/celebrated leaders in the party/related to the candidate/caste and/or religion of the candidate /friends canvassed/personal benefit/out of self-conviction/to become leader/social service/other.

3. Do you desire to contest elections ? Yes/No.

4. Should elections to the Local Bodies be fought on—party programme/non-party principles/caste and/or religion/local issues/provincial issues/national issues/international issues/personal prestige/other.

5. Should General Elections be fought on—party programme/non-party principles/caste and/or religion/local issues/provincial issues/national issues/international issues/personal prestige/other.

6. Did you notice the following elements operating in the electioneering ?
Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

- (i) indicate it—casteism and communalism/goondaism/hooliganism groupism/extravagance of money/other.

7. Do you like elections ? Yes/No.

VI

1. Do you have political aspirations ? Yes/No.

(A) if yes,

- (i) member of : parliament/assembly/Zilla Parishad/taluka panchayat samiti/gram panchayat/municipality/other.
- (ii) minister in: union ministry/state ministry/other.
- (iii) President of : Zilla Parishad/taluka panchayat samiti/municipality/other.
- (iv) Sarpanch: gram panchayat.

(B) Do you make efforts to realise your political aspirations ? Yes/No.

- (a) if yes, you take to—social work/party work/welfare of caste/currying favour of party leaders/other.

2. In case the leader you like leaves the party, would you also leave it ?
Yes/No.

VII

1. Do you think India is emotionally integrated ? Yes/No.

2. Foreign policy of India is —Aligned/Non-aligned.

3. India should align with—Western States/Communist States/non-aligned States.

4. Which system is more suitable to India ?
democracy/dictatorship/communism or other.

5. Do you think Western States politically differ among themselves Yes/No.

6. Do you think Communist States politically differ among themselves? Yes/No.

7. Do you think non-aligned States politically differ among themselves? Yes/No.

8. Does the U. N. give guarantee of the world peace and security? Yes/No.

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